

The MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Edited by E. D. Ball

Missouriana

Historical Notes and Comments

Missouri History Not Found in Textbooks

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SPANISH LOUISIANA AND THE WEST: THE ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STE. GENEVIEVE DISTRICT

BY J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

Prior to the Spanish régime the economic development of the western half of Louisiana was negligible. With the exception of a few frontier posts from the lower Missouri to the Gulf, from which hunting and the Indian trade was being developed, and a certain amount of farming and plantation life in Lower Louisiana, the Ste. Genevieve district was the only real center of economic activity. All this despite the fact that the Mississippi river had been alive with trade between the French Illinois country and New Orleans since the early decades of the eighteenth century. In the Spanish period (1765 to 1804) however, the economic development of the western fringe of the Mississippi river valley at various points was rapid and its implications were of lasting significance.

As an attractive force on the frontier, the Spanish settlements were an important factor in the history of the Anglo-American advance. For at precisely the same time that Americans were crossing the Alleghanies to lay the basis of a permanent trans-Alleghany frontier of settlement, the Spanish were building up the settlements along the western fringe of the Mississippi. The economic isolation of both of these European frontiers tended to draw them together, and the Mississippi river and its tributaries served as the binding force which hastened and assured that process. The Spanish settlements were as a magnet, hastening the westward advance of the trans-Alleghany frontier toward the banks of the Mississippi where, at the gateways to a great net of natural highways, life was both active and attractive. A number of subsequent frontier developments sealed the process, but the stage was set in the Spanish period.

Emphasis upon political and diplomatic implications has tended to obscure some of these equally important

economic undercurrents. The New Orleans trade has been studied to some extent, and something of the developments in the Missouri-Illinois country. But a thorough analysis of the economic customs of Spanish Louisiana is yet to be made, despite the fact that a fuller knowledge of the economic development of the area in the Spanish period is of fundamental importance for a correct understanding of the social and economic evolution of the area in the period of transition. This has made for the persistence of many erroneous notions.¹

As a matter of fact, the economy of Spanish Louisiana was a significant force in the economy of the entire Mississippi Valley, and set the stage, so to speak, for the great migration into the trans-Mississippi area which came after the Louisiana Purchase and especially after the War of 1812. Much, it seems, was inevitable once the industrial revolution and the western American frontier began to advance together, but the Spanish frontier in Louisiana stood there in that critical period following the American Revolution persistently luring on the enterprising and adventurous Americans. Here the frontier policy of Spain was modified and broken down, quite the opposite from that which existed in the far Southwest, where Spanish colonial policy tended rather to slow up the American advance until after Mexican independence.

I propose to outline some of the economic developments of one specific area, the economic importance of which is generally overlooked, namely, Ste. Genevieve, on the Mis-

¹The local archives of the Ste. Genevieve area in the Spanish period are unusually complete. The two fundamental sources are the extensive *Vallé Papers* and the *Ste. Genevieve Archives*, preserved in the library of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, both of which cover the entire period. Other fundamental local sources are the *St. Louis Archives* and the *New Madrid Archives*, also in the collections of the Missouri Historical Society. The greater part of the *Vallé Papers* consist of letters to François Vallé, commandant at Ste. Genevieve, concerning matters of business and government. There are also a great number of bills and receipts of a general nature. The *Ste. Genevieve Archives* contain a considerable number of deeds, concessions, land transactions, business transactions, permits, records of public sales, proclamations, ordinances, agreements, bonds and notes, accounts and receipts, litigations, inquests, wills, inventories, tax lists, etc. My account is based essentially upon these local sources. These relatively unexploited records reveal one side of a broad story of which the entire Mississippi Valley was the setting. In the preparation of this paper, I wish to thank Mary O'Callaghan, one of my students.

souri-Illinois frontier which, modified by regional factors, was but one link in a chain of developments that characterized economic life at several points along the western fringe of the Mississippi river from St. Louis to New Orleans in the Spanish period.²

The early development of the Spanish Illinois country was very much an extension and a duplication of what had been going on in French Illinois for over a half century previous. The story has been ably told by Alvord, Kellogg, and Surrey.³ Like the region east of the river the western portion was rich in natural resources awaiting more intensive exploitation. In general the province was reorganized to conform to the general plan of the Spanish American colonies, but it was recognized that Louisiana presented a somewhat unique colonial problem, and the Spanish government altered conditions as little as possible. In the economic organization of the province, early legislation, aimed at blocking the ever present danger of English encroachment, was radically modified after the period of the American Revolution with the establishment of an unusually liberal land policy aimed at encouraging American immigration.

The people who formed the early settlements in the Spanish Illinois country were chiefly Frenchmen from Canada, French Illinois, and Lower Louisiana. Many inhabitants of the villages of the eastern Illinois country left their homes to take up residence across the river in Ste. Genevieve and the newly-founded St. Louis, after the division of Louisiana between England and Spain in 1763. The most numerous element, the *habitants*, were of peasant stock. They followed the customs of their ancestors and organized themselves into semi-feudal villages not unlike those of feudal France. The minority of enterprising merchants, and large landholders who

²The Missouri area was in a number of ways not only more attractive but was also more hospitable than other points of American penetration along the Spanish frontier, however, and this was a very important reason why the American wedge was so effectively driven across the river at that point during the Spanish period.

³Cf. especially: Alvord, C. W., *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818*; Kellogg, Louise P., *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*; and Surrey, Nancy M. (Miller), *The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Régime, 1699-1763*.

obtained their land through government grants, among whom were many of the royal officials, had a vital part in moulding the economic structure. They were "as active, as restless, as stirring and as enterprising as any people can be." The Anglo-American invasion after the 1780's intensified the industrialization of the area, although the majority of the population continued to derive its support from agriculture.

Domestic manufacture played no important part in the early history of the Spanish Illinois settlements. But domestic and inter-sectional trade was well developed and well understood, and the American purchase simply completed what the commerce-encouraging Spanish land-tenure system began.

In the heart of a lead mining district, Ste. Genevieve owes its origin to the activities of the miners. In the beginning, beyond supplying the needs of the French and Indians, the mines did not develop because of lack of men, capital, and efficient technical equipment. By the 1730's settlers from the French Illinois country were crossing the river to the western side to engage in mining, hunting, trading, boating, and to work the saline springs near Ste. Genevieve, which were the chief salt supply of the region.

The village proper grew slowly during the French régime, following the usual lines of development of the French villages. The people used a field and woodlot in common. They possessed slaves, and they grew corn, wheat, oats, barley, beans, melons, pumpkins, vegetables, tobacco and cotton for their own use. Each villager was free to cut what wood he chose, and the herds of hogs, cattle, horses, mules, and oxen grazed in the common pasture. There was also a peach and apple orchard, and consequently cider and brandy, besides the red wine from the sweet grape.

The place became fairly prosperous in the Spanish period because of its importance as a shipping point for lead, its salt works, and the abundant crops produced in the fertile common fields. As it was in the center of the Spanish settlements of Upper Louisiana, and at a strategic point in the Indian country, its military importance was considerable. It was also important as an Indian trading post. The influence

of Vallé, the local commandant, in the Indian relations of the district is part of an important chapter in the story of Spanish Indian policy in the Illinois country. So in the Spanish régime Ste. Genevieve grew rapidly for a time and figured largely in the governmental, diplomatic, and commercial life of the region. During the entire period it was the largest center of population on the western bank of the Mississippi.

Land policy was a basic factor in the economic organization of the Missouri-Illinois country. Due to the necessity of promoting immigration, Spain turned from her customary policy of permitting only Spaniards and Catholics to enter her colonies and made attempts to secure settlers wherever there seemed a chance of success. The French Canadians of the Illinois country were first approached. Their coming entailed additional expense to the government, for their condition prevented them from establishing themselves without aid.⁴ The governor-general decreed that they be given in addition to a grant of land having a frontage of five arpents, a barrel of corn for each family (consisting of a husband and wife, more was given for children), an axe, a hoe, a scythe, a spade, two hens, a cock, and a two months old pig, with which it was felt that they could settle down and make a living.⁵

Since these inducements did not produce sufficient expansion to satisfy the officials, a further adaptation of Spanish colonial policy was decided upon when Americans were invited into the territory. These settlers were not given the help recently granted others as it had proved too expensive. But they were promised large grants of land, and commercial privileges, if they would but take the oath of allegiance to the Spanish Crown and the Roman Catholic Church.⁶ The commandants of the Spanish Illinois country actually sent

⁴Houck, Louis, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 153-154.

⁵*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 156. Attempts were also made to interest Spanish, Italian, and German immigrants. (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 154-155).

⁶Whitaker, Arthur P., *The Spanish-American Frontier, 1763-1795*, pp. 101-102. Among the Vallé Papers there is an original copy of one of these signed oaths bearing a number of signatures, and another is in the *Ste. Genevieve Archives*.

out circulars to the western settlements of the United States detailing the advantages enjoyed by Americans who moved into Spanish territory.⁷ The liberal Spanish land policy, as contrasted with the communal life of the French period, was a real factor in encouraging economic enterprise.

Artisans, unless they acquired a fortune, were required to live three years in the continual exercise of their profession before receiving any concession. No land was to be given to tradesmen or merchants, for as they lived in the village they had no need of any. Rich immigrants could be granted twenty additional arpents of land for each negro they brought, but grants were never to exceed eight hundred arpents, for if anyone owned more negroes he could afford to buy more land.⁸ But restrictions were not severely enforced, and additional grants could be obtained by those in the favor of the officials.⁹

Most of the settlers who came to Ste. Genevieve pushed further on into the regions of the mines, the fur country, and the salt works. It seems that the commandants encouraged this.¹⁰ Thus while the population of the village proper remained essentially French, by 1800 the outlying regions of the district were composed of a predominantly English-speaking American element, among whom the profit motive was ever present. During the Spanish régime of four decades the population of Upper Spanish Louisiana increased tenfold, and after 1796 the immigrants who helped to swell the numbers of the census reports were almost all Americans.¹¹ Ste. Genevieve was one of the chief gateways into

⁷Kinnaird, Lawrence, "American Penetration into Spanish Louisiana," in *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*, Vol. I, p. 222.

⁸Gayoso de Lemos, New Orleans, September, 1795. Copy for François Vallé sent by Trudeau, March 31, 1798. *Ste. Genevieve Archives*, Documents, 13.

⁹Cf. Trudeau to François Vallé, St. Louis, January 29, 1793. *Vallé Papers*.

¹⁰*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, p. 528.

¹¹Houck, Louis, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 387; Kinnaird, "American Penetration into Spanish Louisiana." Viles, Jonas, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri Before 1804," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. V, No. 4 (July, 1911), pp. 189-213, treats the Ste. Genevieve district in detail. Violette, E. M., "Early Settlement in Missouri," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, (Oct., 1906), pp. 38-52. O'Callaghan, Mary M., *Ste. Genevieve in the Spanish Régime, 1770-1804*, (Ms. master's thesis, St. Louis University, 1936), pp. 67-70, contains important data from the Ste. Genevieve Catholic Church records at Ste. Genevieve.

the region because it was conveniently situated, the chief shipping point of the mining region and for much of the salt trade, and "had a resident pastor to baptize children or marry those who had found romance in the western country."

In Spanish Illinois the inhabitants of the Ste. Genevieve district led in the production of grain, and though the methods of cultivation were primitive and the *habitants* never got the most out of the land the annual yield of the harvest increased throughout the Spanish régime.¹² This despite the treacherous flood waters of the Mississippi. Not only New Orleans was provisioned, but St. Louis and Spanish villages all along the river received agricultural products from Ste. Genevieve.¹³ The foodstuffs supplied to St. Louis were an important item in the economy of both villages. Gristmills were numerous. After the opening of the deposit at New Orleans there was competition with American farmers for the flour market, and by 1801 the latter had gained a firm hold on it.¹⁴

Their dairy products won praise and they also traded in tallow and bear's oil,¹⁵ a trade that had been developed in the Arkansas region in the French period. They also made brandy from some of the fruit from their orchards, whiskey of rye and Indian corn, and an excellent wine from the sweet grape; but liquors were one of the largest items on import lists. There were a number of sawmills, the saws having been brought in through the trade with the American settlements. The pine which grew in the district was among the articles of commerce after it had been milled into planks.¹⁶

The hunt and trade with the Indians brought large profits and gave the country a necessary medium of exchange to

¹²Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 56-57, 88-89, 94-95, 102-103.

¹³San Fernando, Natchez, and New Madrid sent to Ste. Genevieve for supplies. Gayoso de Lemos sent for three minots of good corn, fit for sowing, to be sent to Natchez, that they might grow "Illinois corn" there. Gayoso de Lemos to François Vallé, New Madrid, December 2, 1795. *Vallé Papers*.

¹⁴Whitaker, Arthur P., *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803*, pp. 138, 150.

¹⁵Robertson, James A. (ed.), *Louisiana Under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1765-1807*, Vol. I, p. 133.

¹⁶Soulard to Baptiste Vallé, St. Louis, March 28, 1798; Sanguinet to Baptiste Vallé, St. Louis, July 29, 1801. *Vallé Papers*.

supplement the small quantity of specie in circulation. In Ste. Genevieve the fur traders did not carry on large operations involving great distances and expense as was the case in St. Louis; the trade was based on individual enterprise which required a relatively small investment. At Ste. Genevieve shaved deer skins were the furs most in circulation and seem to have been the standard of value rather than the beaver skins.

The mineral resources of the Ste. Genevieve district were very rich, and lead mining was an important industry.¹⁷ In granting land the Spanish government did not restrict the mineral lands and many Americans were quick to grasp the opportunity of taking them up and settling them. Moses Austin, who applied for a grant in 1797 revolutionized the industry. His report on the lead mines for the year 1804 places the gross annual productions, not including the value of manufactured products, at \$36,500. There were some one hundred and fifty workmen employed, including miners, smelters, wood-cutters, carters, and others. The average wage of these workers was \$43 a month.¹⁸ An account dated Ste. Genevieve, August 7, 1775, is interesting by comparison. It covers the operations of four months at the Widow Gadober's diggings at the Castor Mines. Two hundred and thirteen pigs of lead were mined, worth \$718. Expenses for wages, the furnace, tools and victuals amounted to \$588.¹⁹ The whole region round about was supplied with shot from these mines from the beginning of the Spanish régime. With the expansion of the industry trade in lead and shot extended to Michillimackinac, Kentucky, and Havana.²⁰

The salt works of the region were also extensively exploited. According to Stoddard, by 1804 most of the inhab-

¹⁷For a good account of the lead mining operations of the period cf. Swartzlow, Ruby, "Early History of Lead Mining in Missouri," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Apr., 1934), pp. 184-194.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 195.

¹⁹Vallé Papers.

²⁰Pittman, Philip, *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi*, edited by Frank H. Hodder (Reprint of orig. London ed., 1770), p. 95; Sanguinet to Baptiste Vallé, St. Louis, May 25, 1803, Vallé Papers; Thwaites, R. G. (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, Vol. IV, p. 178; Swartzlow, "Early History of Lead Mining in Missouri," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Apr., 1934), p. 205.

itants on both sides of the river derived their salt supply from there, and no small proportion of the product was shipped up the Ohio and the Cumberland by boat.²¹

There were a number of merchants and tradesmen in Ste. Genevieve dealing in large supplies of every conceivable type of goods brought from New Orleans, Europe, Canada, and the West Indies, and from across the river at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and other centers.²² Commercial relations were also established with the Ohio region, Kentucky, Vincennes, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia.²³ The New Orleans trade was extensive, and every man of wealth or importance had a special agent to represent him there. The correspondence between Vallé and his agent, Berthe Grima, is an interesting study in itself.²⁴ All types of hardware, drygoods, supplies for the Indian trade, and rare and valuable articles from American and European markets reached Ste. Genevieve in this way.

The villages of the region were in close contact with each other. The river was alive with traffic. And there were several ferryboats that crossed the river from Ste. Genevieve and the other villages in the vicinity to meet the demands of transporting immigrants from the American side, "who are coming in every day," to quote from a letter dated 1802.²⁵

Trade was carried on chiefly through barter. The exports never equalled the imports, and so the Spanish milled

²¹Stoddard, Amos, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, p. 411; Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 256.

²²Entries in the daybook of William Lowry for the years 1803-1804 record the sale of such imported articles as vest patterns, skillets, shoes, cloth materials, stockings, knives, forks, buttons, combs, saddles, hats, handkerchiefs, shawls, horn collars, nails, a mill saw, pins, needles, stationery, etc. *Ste. Genevieve Archives*, Documents, 105.

²³Sanguinet to Baptiste Vallé, *Vallé Papers*; Vigo to François Vallé, Vincennes, May 20, August 17, 1797. *Vallé Papers*.

²⁴*Vallé Papers*.

²⁵William Flynn to Delassus de Luziere, New Bourbon, March 1, 1802; Delassus de Luziere to François Vallé, New Bourbon, January 12, 1798; and other examples too numerous to cite. *Ste. Genevieve Archives*, Misc. No. 2.

The expenses for crossing the river from Kaskaskia to Ste. Genevieve, and between other settlements across the river from each other in the vicinity, were uniform and were based on official schedules. The charge for one person was two livres, for each hundredweight in merchandise or effects one livre, and additional specified charges for wagons, livestock, etc., all payable in cash, lead, skins, or merchandise. *Ste. Genevieve Archives*, Misc. No. 2, *passim*.

dollars with which officials and the troops were paid were seized upon eagerly not only by the older settlers but by the American colonists who felt a like need for specie. Many of the contracts of the period stipulate that debts be paid in silver. The government did not exact specie as legal tender, however, and at public sales payment could be made in lead or peltry. Throughout the Spanish régime the French wrote accounts in terms of French and Spanish money, interchangeably, although in most cases actual specie was not involved in the transaction.²⁶

Every conceivable form of barter was used. At Ste. Genevieve cash, lead, salt, and deer skins were the usual media. Credit was well developed and well understood. However, some merchants were rough-and-ready and capable of confiscating by assault what they considered their just due from delinquent debtors.²⁷ Bills of sale, inventories, transfers of property, promissory notes and the like were signed by the notary, an important official under the Spanish law, or in his absence by the commandant, as was usually the case.

The wealth of the inhabitants varied from the three hundred and fifty livres at which the effects of a poor trader were estimated,²⁸ to the 193,663 livres at which the estate of François Vallé, père, was appraised.²⁹ Despite its frontier location, its traditional character and close contact with New Orleans and Europe gave the place a more cultured ruling class than in typical western American towns, and there was considerable wealth and display among the influential few. Negro slavery and Indian servitude influenced the social and economic character of the area.³⁰

²⁶The piastre or piastre gourde equalled the Spanish milled dollar, and five livres or twenty sols amounted to one piastre. For small change the dollar was cut across into "bits", normally from halves to eighths, but some were clever enough to cut it into nine parts and escape detection. The eighth of a dollar was called an escalin.

²⁷Manuel Garcia to François Vallé, St. Louis, July 23, 1797. *Vallé Papers*.

²⁸*Ste. Genevieve Archives*, Misc. No. 1.

²⁹Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 54, note 4.

³⁰Other writers have already pointed out the importance of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 in diverting slave-owning settlers of the southwestern frontier of the United States from the old Northwest into Spanish Louisiana.

After the Louisiana Purchase, Ste. Genevieve declined in importance, as economic changes determined the more rapid development of St. Louis and other nearby villages. But in its heyday in the Spanish period the region played its part in the economic development of the entire Mississippi Valley. The story I have told characterizes what was going on in other sections of the immediate trans-Mississippi West at that time. In short, the economy of the Spanish Louisiana frontier was an important force in the history of the westward march of the American frontier.

THE EVOLUTION OF A FRONTIER SOCIETY IN MISSOURI, 1815-1828*

BY HATTIE M. ANDERSON

PART I

By 1815 Missouri had a typical frontier population of about 25,845. A few of these were Germans, some were Irish, about one-fifth were French, but a large majority were Americans. Immigrants coming in after 1815 brought to Missouri a large part of her population of 1828. These immigrants, like Americans already in Missouri, were very largely from the two tiers of states south of the Ohio, but more especially from Kentucky and Tennessee. They were of a frontier stock accustomed to a self-sufficient, rather crude agricultural life. These hardy, courageous, ambitious, independent, liberty-loving, and equality-demanding frontiersmen emigrated to Missouri to acquire a tract of land on easy terms and to find an opportunity for economic and social development.¹ The social customs and attitudes in 1828 were determined by the character of these immigrants, modified by the influence of the 25,845 who had failed to establish a stable society before 1815, and by the experiences of a life on a frontier where they had not only to make the usual adjustments but where statehood was attained under embittering political conditions at a time when the people were passing through a disillusioning panic.

During the period of 1815-1828 Missouri had a succession of frontiers. There were hunters in the vanguard, followed by squatters, many of whom would move on to the next frontier; actual settlers, who lived in one-room cabins or more comfortable quarters; miners and manufacturers; and

*This article is based on a part of Chapter IV of the author's doctoral dissertation entitled *A Study in Frontier Democracy: The Social and Economic Bases of the Rise of the Jackson Group in Missouri, 1815-1828*. (University of Missouri, 1935.)

¹Anderson, Hattie M., "Missouri, 1804-1828: Peopling a Frontier State," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2 (Jan., 1937), pp. 150-180.

townsmen composed of day laborers, mechanics, professional men, merchants, and capitalists.

The hunters were far in advance of settlement, since wild animals disappeared with the coming of settlers. Schoolcraft, a traveler on the frontier, said that, at best, the hunters were "a hardy, brave, independent people, rude in appearance, frank and generous," who traveled "without baggage," could "subsist anywhere in the woods, and would form the most efficient military corps in frontier warfare."² At the worst they were refugees from older settlements and were rapidly degenerating into savagery.³ Only very little would this class determine the social environment of 1828.

Among the hunters, and not always distinguished from them, were the squatters who planned to move on when the land was opened for settlement. These people were the socially and economically unfortunate or unfit who found the public lands a place of refuge. As a rule the men of this class wore greasy buckskin clothing, were indolent, inclined to be surly, and were not to be trusted. The women were timid, queer, cowed in the presence of their men, and starved mentally and physically.⁴ This squatter class usually lived in crude, hastily built one-room cabins, with several persons crowded in together. In such a cabin there might not be a single article of furniture, for these people usually came by pack horse and so brought only the absolutely indispensable cooking utensils, bedding, and a change or two of clothing. Nevertheless, unless the head of the family was shiftless, a table would be made.⁵

Frequently hunting knives, pewter or earthenware plates, and a single fork were the only eating utensils. Food was ordinarily plentiful, though it consisted largely of meat and

²Schoolcraft, Henry R., *Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas. . . Performed in the Years 1818 and 1819*, p. 40.

³Peck, John Mason, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 101-103.

⁴Schoolcraft, Henry R., *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas*, pp. 51-52.

⁵Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 101-102. One type of table was a puncheon, 4 feet long, 15 or 18 inches wide, hewn down to the thickness of a plank. Into this were inserted four legs, at proper height. The other type was a rough frame in which posts were inserted for legs and covered with split boards shaved smooth and fastened with wooden pins.

corn bread. Among the shiftless settlers the women were likely to be incompetent cooks.⁶ In this class, if the parents could read at all, it was "mighty poorly," and the children were allowed to grow up in ignorance, sloth, and dirt, and were embarrassed in the presence of strangers.⁷ Isolated regions, such as those in which the squatter lived, formed good hide-outs for horse-thieves,⁸ counterfeiters,⁹ and other criminals.¹⁰

The group that is of most interest for an understanding of the social and economic basis of Jacksonian Democracy in Missouri in 1828, however, is the class of permanent settlers who expected to purchase the land from the government and establish a home, and who anticipated the accumulation of property and a life of economic security. Though the long-bearded backwoodsman had vices and barbarisms peculiar to his environment, he also had traits that form the basis of a sound society. However averse to even the most necessary

⁶Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 101-102, 121-125. In Wayne county in 1818, Peck found rancid bacon, poorly cooked beans, or boiled corn, and "no good" buttermilk. In better homes there was venison, bear, and pork, though dressed and cooked in a slovenly fashion, with corn pone that were served "cold and hard as brick bats."

⁷Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 101-103. Peck visited one family in Madison county that consisted of a father, mother, two daughters with their husbands and three or four children, and a grown son and daughter, all living together in a cabin in the greatest squalor, without a single article of furniture. Later this family sold out their claim and "crap" to newly arrived immigrants, for an old wagon and a pair of steers. Taking these with their two horses and their "plunder," they moved southwest on the route to Arkansas.

Peck also describes (pp. 144-145) another family which he visited near Boonville. This family lived near a fine spring in a twelve-foot cabin, made of small black jack poles, with very little chinking and daubing. There was a wood and earth chimney, a low doorway, and an extremely filthy bare earth floor. In and around this dirty shelter lived eight persons, the youngest nearly full grown. All were dressed in greasy, dirty, bloody skins, and were without a particle of woven cloth. Scaffolding that was elevated along the walls on forks of wood served for a bed. This illiterate family had migrated from North Carolina to Missouri three or four years before, but would be moving again, for the public land on which they were located had been placed on the market. The old man was gruff and refused to talk. His wife seemed pitifully eager to communicate with the visiting missionaries, and, though unable to read, wanted a "hyme book." These two families are examples of hundred of others in Missouri in 1818 and 1819.

⁸McAnally, David R., *History of Methodism in Missouri*, pp. 172-173.

⁹*Missouri Gazette* (St. Louis), September 20, 1820.

¹⁰Rothert, Otto A., "The Harpes, Two Outlaws of Pioneer Times," in *The History Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 4 (July, 1911), pp. 155-163.

restraints, he maintained a coarse but substantial morality. His manners were rough, but he was sincere, virtuous and self-supporting. Bear and deer skins were used for dress and household necessities. He carried a knife or dirk and a rifle, and a pack of dogs were usually at his heels, for hunting was one of his chief means of support and profit.¹¹ He came to acquire an extensive freehold of rich land, and to settle his children about him. The crude environment blunted his sensibilities and bred in him a considerable ruthlessness which was noticeable in his attitude toward the government, his neighbors, his family, and even himself. Nevertheless, in a few years it could be said truthfully that¹²

Hospitality and friendliness of disposition are distinguished traits in the character of this people. They are shrewd and intelligent, quick in their resentments but willing to render favors to those who have their esteem. They are becoming more industrious in their pursuits, more uniform in character and more regular in their habits than formerly.

Many of the immigrants settled temporarily on public lands in order to obtain the right of purchasing at the minimum price when the government put the land on the market.¹³ These people were called squatters, also, but should not be confused with the shiftless class that did not make homes. The former were busy clearing and cultivating the land. They raised corn, wheat, cattle, hogs, horses, and chickens, and waited impatiently to obtain a title to their land.¹⁴ There was usually a plentiful supply of various meats, corn-dodgers, or cakes and coffee, and the food was usually, though not always, well-cooked, and appetizing.¹⁵ There were times, however, when food was scarce.¹⁶ Ordinarily the settler's wife did not sit down at the table with the men and was usually timid, silent, and reserved, though attentive to every-one's comfort.¹⁷

¹¹McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 405.

¹²*Missouri Intelligencer* (Franklin), January 7, 1823, describing the settlers of Howard county.

¹³*Missouri Gazette*, January 15, 1819.

¹⁴*Missouri Intelligencer*, January 7, 1823.

¹⁵Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 125-133.

¹⁶Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 138, tells of eating breakfast with a lonely widow who had very little to eat, but gladly shared that bit.

¹⁷Flint, Timothy, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, pp. 175-8. When asked for shelter a man might answer "I reckon you can stay," and then give the stranger the best the cabin afforded.

Of the population of Missouri in 1819 Schoolcraft wrote:¹⁸

Made up of emigrants from all other parts of the United States, and from Europe, the inhabitants can hardly be said to have acquired a uniform character. Hospitality to strangers, enterprise in business, ardor in the pursuit of wealth, *an elevated pride of country*, and perseverance under the pressure of many difficulties growing out of the infancy of the settlements, are the most conspicuous traits in the character of the inhabitants west of the Mississippi. They are robust, frank, and daring. Taught by the hardships and danger incident to a frontier settlement, to depend for security and success upon their own individual exertions, they rely little upon extraneous help, and feel that true independence flowing from a conviction that their own physical exertions are equal to every call, necessity, and emergency of life. Observations drawn from habitual intercourse, and from witnessing their public debates, would also lead us to conclude that their enjoyments arise more from those active scenes attendant upon adventures which require corporeal exertion, than from the arts of peace, refinement, and intellectual research.

Unquestionably most of these people were crude, but the majority possessed the fundamental virtues. Itinerant ministers and travelers vouch for this. They describe the frontier class as a rough, hardy, independent, adventurous, courageous, ambitious, adaptable, sincere, bluntly truthful, hospitable, neighborly, and upright people. When one was in need or in distress, he could be sure a helping hand would be extended by his kindly neighbors. The good people of St. Charles cared for Flint and his family during months of illness.¹⁹ In St. Louis an emigrant aid society was organized, and one of the duties of its members was to visit the sick.²⁰ Duden lived in a neighbor's home while his place was being cleared and his cabin built. The neighbors gathered at a log rolling to help the newcomer erect his cabin and other necessary buildings.²¹ It is apparent that most of these permanent settlers were content to have a rude abundance, to practice crude virtues, and give themselves to hospitality without seeking notoriety.

¹⁸Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 229.

¹⁹Flint, *Recollections*, p. 189.

²⁰*Missouri Gazette*, October 20, 1819.

²¹Duden, Gottfried, "Gottfried Duden's 'Report', 1824-1827," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (Jan., 1918), p. 86; No. 3 (Apr., 1918), p. 167.

Most Missourians, like other frontiersmen, were essentially sound socially, though they were generally given to strong personal feelings and prejudices, for they were emotional, quick-tempered, quarrelsome, and lawless as were Jackson and most of his ardent supporters. These Missourians were susceptible to personal influence and were likely to follow almost indiscriminately any man who won their confidence.²² This characteristic is very evident by 1828 in the support given Andrew Jackson by the shouting, democratic majority.

Though the vast majority of the settlers were small farmers and lived in one-room cabins at first, a higher economic and social class furnished the leaders. This class later formed the backbone of the Clay-Adams group in Missouri, though a few of them, headed by Thomas Hart Benton, became leaders of the democratic movement that developed after 1815 and supported Andrew Jackson in 1828. Some men of the "most respectable" class came to Missouri with their stock, slaves, and vehicles. They expected to establish a plantation, become men of means if they were not already so, and attain to social, economic, and political leadership. Some of these, it is true, were only gentlemen "on the make," who hoped in this new country to secure a competence and obtain a place of social consequence. Such had been the case with many men in Virginia and the Carolinas, including the fathers of Thomas Jefferson and John C. Calhoun.

This more ambitious class built double log cabins,²³ as their predecessors in the southern states had done. Another mark of superior wealth and industry was the number and

²²Houck, Louis, *History of Missouri*, Vol. III, p. 13. Houck tells the story of a jury bringing in a certain verdict because "honest John Scott" told them to do this. At that time almost all collections were made by lawyers. It is said John Scott put his collections in separate buckskin bags, and never touched the money.

²³James, Edwin, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819 and 1820*, in Thwaites, R. G. (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, Vol. XIV, pp. 134-135. The double cabin was really just two single cabins with covered space between them, open at both ends, and with an earth floor. It offered a cool, airy retreat for the family during the heat of the day. Brackenridge, in his *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West* (p. 216), says that in imitation of a southern custom, John Smith T. kept his yard swept clean to keep away snakes and mosquitoes. One cabin was used for the family and the other for guests.

magnitude of corn-cribs, smoke houses, and negro cabins, although in Missouri one seldom found anything comparable to the barn of the northern states. These settlers looked forward to the time when they could build more commodious houses, similar to those of the large planters of the south. For the most part the members of this class were intelligent, very ambitious and very aggressive. Like the majority of the small farmers, they were quarrelsome. Among this group were lawyers, merchants, and large land holders, such as the Bartons, Edward Bates, Thomas Hart Benton, Duff Green, Rufus Easton, John Mullanphy, John O'Fallon, David Todd, Richard Gentry, Thomas Smith, and John Miller, most of whom lived in or near St. Louis, though there were several in the Boon's Lick region, and there were others throughout the State. This class was in control in 1820 and framed the Constitution in a Jeffersonian rather than Jacksonian spirit.²⁴ Though some of these individuals maintained their personal influence, as a class they were ousted from control by 1828, for comparatively few of this conservative, aristocratic class supported Jackson, and the Jackson majority united to secure control among themselves.

LAWLESSNESS AND CRIME

By 1815 it was apparent that, if Missouri acquired stability, she must rid herself of lawlessness and of criminals; drive out objectionable squatters; weld together her heterogeneous elements of French, Germans, Irish, and Americans, and develop adequate leadership. Out of this period of weeding and welding grew Jacksonian Democracy. Though a more stable society was established, lawlessness continued throughout the period, for Missouri was never free from the experiences of a newly settled region. There were a sufficient number of the turbulent and the criminal to detract from constructive measures, to impair her reputation abroad for decades, and to deter some from emigrating to the State, if not at times to seriously test the political ability of her citizens.

²⁴Shoemaker, Floyd C., *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*.

The newly arriving immigrants in 1815 tended to add to the turbulence. One asserted that some of the criminals who had been "practising every species of villiany in other parts of the union hath flew to this to escape punishment."²⁵ Missionaries avoided St. Louis as a Sodom and Gommorrah.²⁶ Men continued to carry concealed weapons, and the mines were still dangerous, for the workmen engaged in brawls and quarrels and the proprietors were frequently at war with each other.²⁷

Conditions became so bad by the fall of 1815, due either to defects in the law or to the incompetency of the officials, or both, that some of the citizens banded together as "regulators,"²⁸ following North Carolina precedent. Some said this organization extended throughout the Territory and counted among its members men of unimpeachable character, including former army officers and several members of the legislature. The Regulators planned to drive out all counterfeiters, hog stealers, gamblers, and other objectionable persons. As was anticipated by the more discerning, criminals got into the organization and some who were not criminals found irresponsible power too great a temptation. Innocent men were sometimes accused by their enemies and some were tortured into false confession.²⁹ Those who opposed the methods of the Regulators tried to arouse public opinion to compel enforcement of the law, curtail interference of troops, restrict the sale of intoxicants at the taverns, frown on the

²⁵*Missouri Gazette*, February 17, 1816. Article signed "Castigator."

²⁶Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 87-89; McAnally, *History of Methodism*, pp. 234-235, 242.

²⁷Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 143.

²⁸The *Missouri Gazette* of September 16, 1815, carried an advertisement for a "meeting of the disbanded officers of the army to organize a society for social union and friendship, among ourselves, for the promotion of the common welfare, embracing such other objects as may be acceptable to the convention when assembled." It cannot be definitely determined, with present information, that this was the origin of the Regulators, but one of its members, in the *Missouri Gazette* of February 17, 1816, claimed that the Regulators succeeded in driving out most of the counterfeiters by the end of October.

²⁹*Missouri Gazette*, January 27 and February 24, 1816, articles signed "A Friend to Order." *Missouri Gazette*, February 17, 1816, article signed "Castigator." *Missouri Gazette*, July 6, 1816, article signed "Friend to Liberty." *Missouri Gazette*, March 2, March 23, July 13, August 3, 1816. An opponent of the Regulators acknowledged that the organization had done some good but claimed it was "like the boy who set his father's house on fire to kill the fleas."

vices of the "best class," and forbid children, apprentices, and slaves to roam the streets at night.³⁰ Apparently the rule of the Regulators soon ended, but lawlessness continued.³¹ In other parts of Missouri post riders were attacked and robbed of horses as well as of mailbags,³² the trunks of travelers were stolen,³³ boatmen made merry in the river towns,³⁴ and there were brutal murders.³⁵

Apparently, Missourians believed that a political rival was a personal enemy³⁶—an attitude typical of Jacksonian Democrats. On October 20, 1819, Joseph Charless, editor of the *Missouri Gazette*, summarized the past decade in St. Louis as one marked by violence, persecution, arrogance, and unprincipled ambition. A year later he said:³⁷

During a considerable part of the time from the commencement of this paper, in 1808, to the present time, the most violent party spirit has raged in the town of St. Louis—the most violent measures have been resorted to by an overbearing aristocratic faction. Shooting, caning, and every

³⁰*Missouri Gazette*, March 2, 1816.

³¹Darby, John F., *Personal Recollections of Many Prominent People Whom I Have Known*, pp. 242-250. Darby said there were, until 1836, several thousand arpents between St. Louis and Carondelet that had been used for pasture, and from which firewood was taken, and that this was also a place of shelter for desperate vagabonds, and that many murders had been committed on the road to Carondelet. On October 11, 1817, it is recorded in the *Missouri Gazette* that the militia was called out to guard a man chained and locked in jail.

³²*Missouri Gazette*, February 17, 1819. One robber was evidently an old offender, for he was without ears and was branded in both hands with two letters.

³³*Missouri Gazette*, March 23, 1819. Ralph Davies offered \$1,000 for the apprehension of four men who had robbed him of a trunk containing clothing, \$2,040 worth of Kentucky notes, and 600 English guineas.

³⁴Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 101-105. The boatmen went on shore "to raise the wind," and often became riotous before the evening was over.

³⁵*St. Louis Enquirer*, January 6, and May 5, 1821. John B. Duncan was executed for robbery and for the murder of John B. Stevens, his wife, and two children, of Madison county; Duncan secured \$68.00. The *Missouri Gazette* of February 29, 1820, recorded that Lemuel Price had used a hoe on someone who finally killed Price with a blow from a billet of wood. The *St. Charles Missourian* of July 22, 1820, stated that at Monroe in Lincoln county, John McCoy killed Ezra Smead in an "inhuman and savage manner" with two stabs of a butcher knife. "This most aggravated crime was perpetrated without provocation in the presence of a number of citizens." Nevertheless, the murderer escaped without hindrance.

³⁶*Missouri Gazette*, December 21, 1817. In protest, Charless said, "We can see no reason why a political rival should be a personal enemy; why the candidate should carry into private life, the hostility that actuates him on the hustings." See also, *Missouri Gazette*, August 21, 1818.

³⁷*Missouri Gazette*, September 13, 1820.

kind of personal injury and abuse have been attempted. Sometimes young men scarcely arrived to manhood, and sometimes companies of old men were the instruments employed by the faction—the only charge which was made against the management of the *Gazette* was an independent exposure of their mercenary schemes and plots.—If it had supported their sinister and surreptitious views, it would have received their support and patronage. On this point, I do not speak from conjecture, but from facts. I have been offered by some of the principal men of this party, that I should receive their united assistance provided I would advocate their measures and close my columns against all their opponents. An offer on my part to leave the paper open to all, was not enough. I must be exclusively theirs.

The above disparaging picture, however, is not true of all the people of Missouri at this time, for time after time during the period between 1815 and 1828, newspapers noted the "respectability" of the immigrants passing through St. Charles to Boon's Lick up the Missouri, or to Salt river up the Mississippi.³⁸ As has been said, travelers and itinerant preachers vouch for the general respectability of the settlers. Missourians as a group, like other frontiersmen, took great pride in themselves and had high faith that the future would bring prosperity to them individually and collectively. The following quotation from the *Enquirer* illustrates this customary attitude:³⁹

The population of Missouri is of the most excellent kind. It consists of the old inhabitants, who possess the urbanity of the French character, of enterprising young men who have energy and capacity to become the architects of their own fortunes; and of respectable heads of families who wisely transfer their children to a new and magnificent theatre. Perhaps no country ever showed at the commencement a population so well informed, so liberal in their sentiments, and more hospitable to strangers than may be found in Missouri. Travelers of character from every part of the Union will attest these things, and will say that on the very frontiers of Missouri, where they expected to find nothing but rude hunters, they have found intelligence, liberality, manly sentiment, and open-hearted generosity, and these are not confined to few, but pervading the general mass and body of the population.

³⁸*St. Louis Enquirer*, November 10, 1819; *Missouri Intelligencer*, November 18, 1819; October 28, 1825; *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), October 19, 1826; *Independent Patriot* (Jackson), November 22, 1826.

³⁹*St. Louis Enquirer*, December 22, 1819.

When Missouri was conditionally granted statehood in 1820, it was hoped that a more able government would be established.⁴⁰ Naturally, however, in a society as emotionally unstable as that of Missouri in the early twenties, due to unsettled social customs, to the existence of a polyglot population of different nationalities, to the presence of black slaves, and to a great land boom which brought a vast horde of eager immigrants and which was followed by a panic that brought financial distress and despair, it would be strange if the annals of Missouri failed to show a considerable amount of crime.

The presence of a large criminal element was partly due to the tendency of the criminal when hard pressed in the older states "to light out for parts unknown" farther west. Besides this, periods of depression are apt to expose criminal tendencies among any people. Then, too, during the decade when the population grew from 66,586 to 140,455, Missouri was continually receiving new people and establishing a new frontier line which delayed the development of higher standards, for the first reaction to a frontier environment is the assumption of more primitive characteristics, with a tendency toward lowering of social, economic, moral, and religious standards.⁴¹ After 1820 much of the turbulence spread to Boon's Lick, Jackson, and the Salt River region, the new frontiers.⁴² The mining region continued to be a center of social disturbance and crime, although it was said to be better than in the days before 1815 when it won its unenviable reputation.⁴³

Since a large number of the settlers in Missouri came from Kentucky and Tennessee, where justice was quick and ready and matters of dispute were frequently decided by the fists or by the gentlemanly duel, instead of by the courts, it is not strange that dueling appeared among the disorders in Missouri. When most Missourians fought, however, they

⁴⁰*Missouri Gazette*, September 13, 1820.

⁴¹The *United States Census* of 1850 records a greater percentage of illiterate native whites than in 1840. New Englanders sank to a lower intellectual and social level at the end of the 17th century.

⁴²*Missouri Republican*, September 26, October 10, 1825; January 16, February 7, 1828.

⁴³Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 229.

tought with unsheathed tempers, pistols loaded to kill, and with no thought of giving or taking quarter. When one of the participants was killed, it was difficult to convince a jury that the other one was guilty of murder, and so the person who got his man had every expectation of an enhanced reputation and no punishment.⁴⁴ Bloody Island, in the Mississippi river opposite St. Louis, became a favorite spot for duels, for it was a no man's land in the sight of the law.⁴⁵ Missouri's most historic duel before 1820 was that between Charles Lucas and Thomas Hart Benton, in which the former, a promising young lawyer, lost his life.⁴⁶

After the Benton-Lucas duel there was an increasing popular disapproval of dueling,⁴⁷ although it could not be abolished so long as it was sanctioned by the leading citizens, however much the community suffered.⁴⁸ Sometimes dueling was held up to ridicule.⁴⁹ In 1822, a new law made it murder if one man killed another in a duel; disqualified from office any person who had fought a duel; required judges to instruct grand juries to investigate suspects; required judges to bind a man to keep the peace if he were suspected of fomenting a duel; and required every civil and military officer and lawyer to take an oath that he had not and would not take part in a duel.⁵⁰

Despite this law, Joshua Barton was killed in a duel with Thomas C. Rector in 1823.⁵¹ Rector went unpunished.⁵² Another fatal duel followed.⁵³ Ministers, newspapers, and

⁴⁴Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 99-101. Flint satirically defined a gentleman of the frontier as a tall, profane, barbarous ruffian, said to be the best man in the settlement because he was the best fighter and had whipped all the rest. Further, he said, many of these men lacked the character and education of true gentlemen, but that the customs tailor gave them the externals of that class and they fought a duel as the shortest road toward proving this.

⁴⁵Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 178-182.

⁴⁶*Missouri Gazette*, September 20, September 27, and October 4, 1817.

⁴⁷Many articles against duelling were published in the *Missouri Gazette*. See also, *Missouri Intelligencer*, July 20, 1820.

⁴⁸Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 229.

⁴⁹*Missouri Republican*, September 3, 1823. Article signed "Pompey."

⁵⁰*Laws of the State of Missouri*, 2nd G. A., 1st Session, 1822, p. 53; *Missouri Republican*, November 27, 1822.

⁵¹*Missouri Republican*, June 25, July 2, July 16, July 23, 1823; *Missouri Intelligencer*, July 15, September 9, 1823.

⁵²*Independent Patriot*, June 12, 1824.

⁵³*Missouri Intelligencer*, July 29, 1823; Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, p. 86.

others increased their efforts to destroy this medieval custom.⁵⁴ Regardless of the growing opposition, in 1824 neither legal officials,⁵⁵ members of the legislature, nor the governor, would obey the law to prevent dueling.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, after 1824 this method of settling quarrels was less and less resorted to.⁵⁷

On the other hand, the class that was to form the backbone of the Jackson support in Missouri in 1828 did not fight duels, but used their fists or some other primitive method, and occasionally did not stop short of murder. If a man circulated a false rumor, he might be made to eat his words. When one man felt he had been the victim of the dishonorable conduct of another, he was likely to notify the public of the character of the other man.⁵⁸ Plenty of opportunity for quarrels occurred on court days and at other public meetings. Political rivals carried the hostility of the hustings into private life.⁵⁹ Throughout the period 1816-1821, financial interests in St. Louis clashed and contributed to the failure of both her banks.⁶⁰ Likewise lawyers, physicians, and editors quarreled with professional rivals.⁶¹ There was a strong feeling between the various religious sects, too, and now and then the members of a congregation quarreled and broke up the church.⁶² Fights were frequently accompanied by pulling noses,⁶³ knocking out teeth, kicking, gouging, biting, and hitting.⁶⁴

⁵⁴*Missouri Republican*, August 20, September 2, September 3, October 2, 1823; Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*.

⁵⁵*Missouri Intelligencer*, February 1, 1825. Abiel Leonard, a prosecuting attorney, fought a duel with Major Taylor Berry.

⁵⁶*House Journal*, 3rd G. A., 1st Session, 1824-25, pp. 29, 231-234, 268, 346. Governor Bates and members of the legislature refused to take the oath. The legislature added whipping to the penalty, but the governor vetoed this.

⁵⁷Smith, W. R., "History of Dueling in the State of Missouri," in *Columbia Missouri Herald*, December 23, 1904.

⁵⁸*Missouri Intelligencer*, February 5, 1821, having permitted a contributor to cast aspersions on the community and especially on the lawyers, felt compelled not only to publish the contributor's apology, but to make one editorially. *Independent Patriot*, September 8, 1821.

⁵⁹*Missouri Gazette*, December 21, 1816.

⁶⁰Cable, John R., *The Bank of the State of Missouri*.

⁶¹*Missouri Gazette*, September 13, 1820.

⁶²Flint, *Recollections*, p. 113.

⁶³*Missouri Republican*, January 24, 1825. Article signed "Mercury."

⁶⁴*Independent Patriot*, July 1, 1826.

The ill-will engendered by the campaign of 1828 brought personal quarrels. One example is the wrangling between James Wilson and James Birch, editors of the *Missouri Intelligencer* and the *Monitor*, Fayette's rival papers and supporters of the Administration and Jackson groups, respectively.⁶⁵ At the same time, Birch and the brigadier general of the Missouri militia quarreled and the latter threw refuse out of an upstairs window onto Birch. Pistol in hand, Birch sought revenge, but ran when threatened with a hickory stick. Later Birch got out a card calling the brigadier general "a base and infamous liar—a low-bred vulgar black-guard—and a proven arrant poltroon."⁶⁶

Undoubtedly, the native contentious disposition was in many cases increased by the widespread use of intoxicating liquors.⁶⁷ Advertisements reveal that large quantities were shipped in,⁶⁸ and there was a considerable amount of domestic production.⁶⁹ The use of whisky, rum, and brandy was common, and intoxicants were produced from the apple, peach, and sugar cane. When drinking men fell out, a critic said they "quarreled, cursed, and blasphemed, threw off their coat, jacket and shirt and mauled each other until their nostrils ran blood like a sugar tree freshly tapped in the month of February."⁷⁰

⁶⁵*Missouri Intelligencer*, January 18, 1828. Wilson recalled an old slander suit in Kentucky against Birch; Birch called Wilson "a base calumniator, a dastard and a liar." The *Intelligencer* of August 29, 1828, said that Birch, in his drunkenness on election day, had said that General Smith of the land office had given him money "to lash the d---d rascals!"

⁶⁶*Missouri Intelligencer*, September 12, 1828.

⁶⁷*Missouri Republican*, May 10, 1824.

⁶⁸Liquor advertisements were the principal ones in the *Missouri Gazette* in 1819. *St. Louis Enquirer*, March 8, 1826: Murphy and Nagle were doing a good business in porter, rye, and corn whiskey. They advertised for 1,000 bushels of corn, and were paying 75 cents for merchantable rye and barley. *Independent Patriot*, May 6, 1828: Kerr and Child, merchants, offered to exchange merchandise for a few barrels of whiskey. *Missouri Republican*, May 13, 1828: H. C. Simmons had on hand 500 barrels of new whisky, 100 barrels of very superior Monongahela and Kentucky whisky, 50 barrels of excellent French brandy, and 50 barrels of apple brandy.

⁶⁹*Missouri Gazette*, August 12, 1820: August Chouteau advertised he had for sale several complete stills, hogsheads, double barrels, and other equipment for distillers. According to Wetmore's *Gazetteer of Missouri* (p. 120), in the next decade one of the assets of Florida, Missouri, was four or five distilleries producing about 10,000 gallons of whisky annually, and from one to 3,000 gallons of brandy and gin.

⁷⁰*Independent Patriot*, November 1, 1826. Article signed "Penny Razor."

There is no question that much liquor was imbibed in one way or another, such as a social glass at the public tavern or grocery store,⁷¹ accompanying the many toasts at public dinners,⁷² during electioneering,⁷³ and privately in the home. It was always found at log-rollings, house raisings, harvestings, corn-shuckings, quiltings, musters, and even at religious meetings.⁷⁴

Along with the quarrelsome and ruthless persons, Missouri had her quota of criminals, as did other frontiers.⁷⁵ Some of these were executed,⁷⁶ some escaped to Arkansas, Texas,⁷⁷ or elsewhere, and others went unpunished and became respected citizens.⁷⁸ The list of crimes is a long one and included general disturbance of the peace, drunkenness, inter-racial difficulties growing out of the presence of negroes, quarrels due to the Americans' intolerance of the people of other countries, gambling, stealing, incendiarism, stabbing, fighting, dueling, murder, indentured servants running away, slaves running away, criminals breaking jail—with the connivance of officials and others, juries refusing to convict though the evidence was conclusive, fines remitted, and public records changed illegally.⁷⁹ Some of the disturbance was due to

⁷¹*Senate Journal*, 5th G. A., 1st Session, 1828-29, p. 65.

⁷²*Missouri Republican*, May 10, 1824, records forty toasts.

⁷³*Missouri Republican*, June 25, 1825. Drinking was so common a part of electioneering that this was a subject for a humorous oration.

⁷⁴McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 250. Evidence of a temperance movement is seen in articles which appeared in the *Missouri Republican*, May 10, 1824; *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 25, 1825, September 13, 1827; *Independent Patriot*, October 7, 1826.

⁷⁵Bond, B. W., *Civilization of the Old Northwest*, p. 234.

⁷⁶*St. Louis Enquirer*, June 9, 1821: "The wagon was drove from under him." See also, *Missouri Intelligencer*, August 14, 1824; April 18, 1825.

⁷⁷*Missouri Republican*, January 12, 1825; *Missouri Intelligencer*, January 6, 1826; *Missouri Republican*, September 5, 1825, June 11, 1827, October 26, 1828.

⁷⁸*Missouri Intelligencer*, January 20, 1821; *Independent Patriot*, August 14, 1824. Implied there would be no punishment.

⁷⁹*Missouri Intelligencer*, March 22, 1820; August 28, 1821; May 7, October 15, 1822; October 14, 1823; April 3, April 10, July 3, 1824; February 15, July 22, 1825; October 12, 1826; August 2, 1827; April 11, 1828; *Missouri Gazette*, May 17, 1820; *Missouri Republican*, April 20, 1823; July 19, December 6, 1824; January 1, January 10, 1825; January 19, May 4, 1826; *Independent Patriot*, August 28, 1824; August 26, 1825; April 29, 1826; *St. Louis Enquirer*, January 20, January 29, 1821; April 20, 1822; May 31, 1824.

quarrels over land, mineral rights, monetary obligations, and rival financial interests.⁸⁰

Criminal laws were harsh, not permitting nice adjustments to meet differences in circumstance. The pillory and stripes were still authorized. For perjury as well as for murder, the law required hanging by the neck until dead.⁸¹ Frontier juries adjusted the matter to suit their sense of justice.⁸² The grand jury indicted for manslaughter instead of murder when it thought the law was too severe; for the same reason, the petit jury sometimes refused to convict.⁸³ Public opinion opposed interference in family quarrels. When homicide resulted, the indictment was likely to be for manslaughter rather than murder.⁸⁴

On the highly emotional and sparsely settled frontier, the entire community was frequently drawn into personal difficulties between two individuals. If this ended in a fight, a duel, or a murder, every man was likely to take sides,⁸⁵ and so punishment was uncertain. Since there was no penitentiary, criminals when convicted were confined in the jails of the county, which were poorly built and often overcrowded. If several criminals were put in the same cell, they could easily break out and get away.⁸⁶ A wealthy man could usually escape⁸⁷—as has always been true.

In spite of the failure of the administration of criminal law in many cases, there was a tendency on the frontier, when the case was obvious, to give the offender quick justice. The grand jury indicted the accused and trial was held immediately. In many cases all the evidence could be pre-

⁸⁰*Missouri Republican*, October 10, 1825.

⁸¹*Revised Statutes of Missouri*, 1825, Vol. I, p. 299.

⁸²*Independent Patriot*, September 23, 1826, quoting the *Missouri Republican*.

⁸³*Missouri Intelligencer*, August 7, 1821; *Missouri Republican*, March 22, 1824; December 12, 1825.

⁸⁴*Missouri Republican*, March 22, 1824; *Independent Patriot*, August 13, 1825.

⁸⁵*Missouri Intelligencer*, March 22, 1820; *St. Louis Enquirer*, May 8, May 21, 1820; *Missouri Intelligencer*, January 29, June 4, 1821; July 3, July 10, July 24, July 31, 1824; *Missouri Republican*, December 12, 1825. Letters of Duff Green and Judge Todd to T. A. Smith, in *Smith Manuscript Collection*, Library of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

⁸⁶*Missouri Republican*, May 4, 1826.

⁸⁷*Missouri Gazette*, October 10 and September 19, 1821. Articles signed "Castigator."

sented within a few hours, and the jury, composed of frontiersmen of clear cut opinions and free from legal niceties, could make up its mind with equal quickness, and consequently, a criminal could be tried and convicted in from one to three days.⁸⁸ The law was clear, though harsh. If found guilty of murder, the prisoner was sentenced by the judge to be hung within a month. The people came to the hanging to see their neighbors, who were sure to be there, and to hear the preacher tell them that "The way of the transgressor is hard," as well as to have the satisfaction of literally seeing justice done.⁸⁹

After the regrettable killing of young Henry Carroll⁹⁰ in 1820, the *Missouri Intelligencer* stated that crime was increasing alarmingly in the Boon's Lick country, due to the facility with which criminals escaped punishment, through the efforts of able lawyers. Boon's Lick was considerably excited and the writer was forced to retract his sweeping statements by modifying them, as he said, because of the effect that his statements might have "abroad prejudicial to the character and prosperity of the country." He said the great body of the people "were as respectable and orderly as are generally to be found in any new country, and perhaps more so." Further, as to the lawyer class, he said some of them "would do honor to the profession in any quarter." Even this was not enough to satisfy the wounded feelings of community pride, class honor, and the opposing faction, for the editor added an apology for publishing the original article.⁹¹

The St. Charles *Missourian* joined the *Intelligencer* in denunciation of dueling.⁹² The Jackson *Independent Patriot* regretted the absence of good morals, the evident love of idleness and of amusements that afforded an opportunity for gambling and for drunkenness. The public was warned that Missourians could never attain to a preëminent position until they were temperate, moral, and virtuous. The writer

⁸⁸*Missouri Intelligencer*, August 14, 1824; August 18, 1825.

⁸⁹*Missouri Intelligencer*, April 3, 1824; *Missouri Republican*, February 8, 1827; Darby, *Personal Recollections*, p. 158.

⁹⁰*St. Louis Enquirer*, May 8, 1820.

⁹¹*Missouri Intelligencer*, January 29, 1821; *Ibid.*, February 5, 1821, "Communication" and an article signed "Junius."

⁹²*Missourian*, March 17, 1821, Article entitled "Worms of Society."

insisted that a general diffusion of knowledge among the citizens was an essential for reform.⁹³

By 1823, the *Missouri Intelligencer*⁹⁴ asserted that the people of Boon's Lick were more regular in their habits than formerly, that the region had become civilized, that it was no longer wild and wooly, as it was reputed to be in the East. Acknowledging that there were still a few "games of fisticuffs," as there were in other regions, the *Missouri Intelligencer* proudly pointed to Missouri's criminal courts as "irrefragable evidence that Boon's Lick was a comparatively peaceable community." But just as Boon's Lick was congratulating itself upon the peaceableness it had acquired, the public was shaken by news of the duel between Joshua Barton and Thomas C. Rector at St. Louis.⁹⁵

The attempt to rout out crime went on. In 1824 a horse thief might still be punished by whipping,⁹⁶ but there was a growing feeling against this mode of punishment,⁹⁷ which smacked of a more aristocratic and less humane social order. Newspapers at Jackson⁹⁸ and at Franklin in the Boon's Lick country complained⁹⁹ of failure to punish criminals. It was said that many murderers throughout the whole western country were escaping punishment, and that it was to the interest of the country to redeem its character from such a foul stain. The writer thought a rigid enforcement of the law was needed, so that no guilty person could ever escape through wealth, friends, or other circumstances.¹⁰⁰

By 1826, apparently some of Jackson's turbulent population had moved on, possibly to the next frontier, or had taken on settled habits, for the grand jury made only three presentments for assault and battery. The editor was sure that the vices that the grand juries took cognizance of were less practised than during the past years, and the influence of morality and vigilance on the part of peace officers was

⁹³*Independent Patriot*, August 11, 1821. Article signed "Seneca," which may have been written by Timothy Flint.

⁹⁴*Missouri Intelligencer*, January 11, July 15, 1823.

⁹⁵*Missouri Republican*, July 2, 1823.

⁹⁶*Missouri Intelligencer*, May 1, 1824.

⁹⁷*House Journal*, 3rd G. A., 1st Session, 1824-25, pp. 231, 246.

⁹⁸*Independent Patriot*, August 14, 1824; August 6, 1825.

⁹⁹*Missouri Intelligencer*, April 10, 1824.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*

growing. He thought most of the crimes by 1826 were due to too much whisky, especially during a political campaign when candidates gave it freely to voters.¹⁰¹

Because of the expense to counties for the prosecution of criminals, the cost of keeping them if convicted, and the ease with which many escaped, it was suggested that punishment should be commensurate with the crime; that felony should be punished by fine, imprisonment, and whipping; and that a penitentiary or workhouse should be established and thus change the punishment from stripes and solitary confinement to imprisonment and hard labor. Because this would at once raise the question of taxation—a proverbially unpopular subject—it was stated that the workhouse might be secured by a lottery, and might even become a source of revenue to the State.¹⁰²

Thus by 1828, in Missouri, the majority of whose citizens had taken on the characteristics that became distinctive of Jacksonian Democracy, the aristocratic duel was disappearing, but the majority were still likely to resort to force in personal disputes and the rough and tumble fight occurred wherever people congregated in large numbers. Justice was likely to be rough and ready even under the aegis of the law. Criminals could still find means of escaping punishment, and when hard pressed could pass over the border to Arkansas or go on to Texas. The average citizen was likely to emphasize a rude justice more than the letter of the law. A sense of personal honor which developed in the democratic frontier society brought a demand for the abolition of such punishments as whipping, the use of the pillory, and other bodily torture and public humiliation. More and more the favored mode of punishment was fine and confinement, with summary execution of the worst criminals. Then, too, there was a growing sense of the State's responsibility to rid the public of undesirables, and a penitentiary was urged as a means of reform. As has been stated, Missourians were still emotional,

¹⁰¹*Independent Patriot*, April 29, 1826. There had been 63 presentments by the grand jury during the past five years, 49 for assault and battery.

¹⁰²*Missouri Republican*, May 4, 1826. At this time the jail in St. Louis was crowded, with five or six prisoners in one compartment.

quick-tempered, quarrelsome, and ruthless, but they were becoming less disorderly.

The contentiousness that Missourians exhibited among themselves was shown also in their relations with their neighbors. A keen rivalry was felt between Illinois and Missouri which sometimes descended to something worse. The financial interests of St. Louis clashed with those of Sawneetown. Pro-slavery Boon's Lick drove out one of its most offensive anti-slavery residents, who sought refuge in the more congenial atmosphere of Illinois, whose newspapers printed a criticism of Boon's Lick. "A Layman" of Boon's Lick proposed to organize a missionary society, a tract society, collect a fund of about \$9,000, and distribute some Bibles in order to reclaim the barbarians of Illinois. Thus the writer availed himself of an opportunity not only to cast aspersions on the citizens of a rival state and the despised opponents of slavery, but also to twit the seemingly patronizing missionaries from the East with their numerous organizations and inconsiderate and offensive requests for even "the widow's mite."¹⁰³

Missourians were exceedingly sensitive to the opinion of the East, and ever suspicious of its motives,¹⁰⁴ due to prejudices engendered by the War of 1812, by the struggle for statehood, and the usual sensitiveness of the frontier to the opinion of the older settlements. The grievances of the people in regard to the ruling of the Land Office in Washington were only enhanced by the fact that the officer in charge was from Connecticut.¹⁰⁵ During the struggle for admission in 1820, it was said that the North used slavery merely to cover up the organization of a new party founded on geographical distinctions and state antipathies, and which intended to govern or dissolve the Union.¹⁰⁶ Again, it was said that the North had, from the time of John Jay to Rufus King, viewed with jealousy the rapid development of the wealth and political importance of the Western states.¹⁰⁷ Great resent-

¹⁰³*Missouri Intelligencer*, August 6, 1819.

¹⁰⁴*Missourian*, July 1, 1820; August 15, 1821.

¹⁰⁵*St. Louis Enquirer*, April 28, 1819; June 23, 1819.

¹⁰⁶*St. Louis Enquirer*, July 15, 1820.

¹⁰⁷*St. Louis Enquirer*, December 16, 1820, quoting from Lee's speech in Congress.

ment was felt in St. Louis over a statement made in the East that Missourians were "morally and politically unfit for self-government."¹⁰⁸ This sensitiveness to the opinion of the East persisted to the end of the twenties, for in 1827, Easterners were accused of not liking the water and the taverns of Missouri, of complaining of the streets as being crooked and filthy, and lighted up with dirks and pistols; of saying the wives were dowdies and the people one stage above Hottentots. But Eastern criticism was countered by the statement that such critics usually left without paying their bills¹⁰⁹—which was a serious accusation in the opinion of the West.

After the selection of Adams by the House in 1825, the prejudice of a large number in Missouri against anything that savored of the Northeast was capitalized by the politicians to organize an opposition to Adams and Clay that would assure the election of Jackson in 1828. "Rogue" and "Yankee" were said to be synonymous expressions in the western country.¹¹⁰ All in vain did one man say, "What difference does it make whether the land of a man's fathers furnished cotton, rice, tobacco, or codfish?"¹¹¹ It did make a difference, for the politicians knew the political value of playing on the old prejudice and the sensitiveness of the majority of Missourians whose traditions were those of agricultural Kentucky and Tennessee. And even Kentucky in 1828 repudiated her leading son who had allied himself with Adams.

In spite of this apparent provincialism, Missourians were nationalistic and patriotic. The highest wish that could be made for another country was that its people might acquire a republican government like that of the United States and a constitution that would protect the rights of the people.¹¹² In 1819 Missourians did not need the existing sprinkling of Irishmen, among whom was the quarrelsome refugee, Luke

¹⁰⁸*St. Louis Enquirer*, July 19, 1820, and issues following.

¹⁰⁹*Missouri Republican*, October 18, 1827.

¹¹⁰*Independent Patriot*, November 29, 1826. Article signed "Cape Girardeau Farmer."

¹¹¹*Missouri Intelligencer*, August 29, 1826. Article signed "Jonathan Longue."

¹¹²Revealed in a toast at almost every public dinner.

Lawless, to make them suspicious of John Bull.¹¹³ Then, too, a part of the shortage in specie at the time of the panic of 1819 was due to the drainage of gold and silver out of the country—which was all the more resented because the offender was England.¹¹⁴

SLAVERY

A study of the social and economic conditions in Missouri in the period from 1815 to 1828, must include slavery, an inheritance from its southern population rather than an adaptation to meet the demand for labor. Of the 66,586 people in Missouri in 1820, 10,222 or 15.3% were slaves. Of the 140,455 people in Missouri in 1830, 26,091 or 17.8% were slaves. After 1830 the percentage of slaves decreased.¹¹⁵ Apparently, the majority of Missourians accepted slavery as a matter of course, and in all probability a majority of the small farmers even contemplated ownership some day.¹¹⁶ Of those who did own slaves, it has been said that the majority had only one family of negroes. In such cases, the difference between master and slave was likely to be more in color than anything else, with the two working side by side in the field, wearing pretty much the same clothing, eating the same food, often sleeping under the same roof, and worshipping together.¹¹⁷ Some men owned a comparatively large number of slaves, and employed an overseer.¹¹⁸ Some slaves became highly trained as skilled laborers.¹¹⁹

Now and then negroes were sold down the Mississippi, but usually only the vicious ones, for almost all the surplus

¹¹³*St. Louis Enquirer*, May 12, 1819; Darby, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 170-176.

¹¹⁴*St. Louis Enquirer*, June 9, 1819; *Missouri Gazette*, July 14, 1819.

¹¹⁵*United States Census*, 1850.

¹¹⁶*Missouri Intelligencer*, October 1, 1819: The Mt. Pleasant Association of Baptists opposed restriction as a violation of the rights of property. *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., 1819-1820, Vol. I, p. 848: "Mr. Scott presented a petition and remonstrance of the Baptist Association of Mount Zion, Howard county, Territory of Missouri, protesting against the interference of Congress in the provisions of the constitution contemplated for said Territory upon its admission into the Union as a State; as also against any restrictions on the rights of property."

¹¹⁷McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 146.

¹¹⁸*Missouri Republican*, July 12, 1827.

¹¹⁹Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures*, pp. 228-230.

slaves were absorbed in clearing and developing new farms, and by the demand of those who had previously not owned negroes.¹²⁰ Slaves were hired out for farming and mining, as boatmen, and as servants. This was an important source of income, especially for widows and minors.¹²¹ Nevertheless, the custom of hiring out slaves or of letting them hire themselves out led to many evils.¹²² The slave who hired himself out was tempted not to work but to resort to gambling or stealing to get the money for his master. Slaves who hired themselves out were likely to make other slaves discontented with their lot. Those who worked on the boats developed a taste for liberty that led to discontent. Some slaves tried to run away,¹²³ some were kidnapped,¹²⁴ some were petty thieves,¹²⁵ and a few were vicious.¹²⁶

The struggle over restriction in 1820¹²⁷ stifled the scattering objection to slavery at that time, and so the abolition movement did not get under way until after 1833.¹²⁸ Apparently before this slavery was an institution of some economic and social importance, probably manifesting a minimum number of the evils attached to this form of labor, and generally accepted as a traditional institution.

WOMEN IN MISSOURI

Not a great deal is to be found in the records concerning women, but they undoubtedly had a place of vast importance in the establishment of a stabilized society on the frontier. In 1820, the proportion of white females to males was 24,787

¹²⁰Newspaper advertisements indicate that the trade was largely in negroes, aged 10 to 30, in groups of one to five.

¹²¹*Revised Statutes of Missouri*, 1825, Vol. I, p. 105; Vol. II, pp. 742, 783. See also advertisements in the newspapers.

¹²²*Missouri Republican*, July 9, July 12, 1824.

¹²³Rewards varied from \$10 (*Enquirer*, August 18, 1822), to \$150 offered by John Smith T. for a mulatto who spoke French, played the violin, played cards, drank ardent spirits, and was a thief (*Missouri Republican*, April 1, 1828).

¹²⁴*Missouri Republican*, May 14, 1823; *Independent Patriot*, May 6, 1828. There was an organized gang.

¹²⁵*St. Louis Enquirer*, January 12, 1819. Mentioned in many advertisements.

¹²⁶*Missouri Intelligencer*, August 28, 1821.

¹²⁷Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*.

¹²⁸Lovejoy, Joseph C., *Memoir of Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy*.

to 32,302, or 43.7% to 56.3%, which presumably meant that practically 25% of the men were unmarried. In the region that later became the St. Louis congressional district, 41.2% were females and 58.8% were males. In the Boon's Lick region the proportion was 44.8% to 55.2%,¹²⁹ for the immigration had been largely by families.¹³⁰ The proportion of females in south Missouri was about the same, being 45% to 55%. Wayne county, in which there were many hunters,¹³¹ shows a much greater disparity of females, for the proportion was 61.4% to 38.6%. By 1830 the proportion of white females to males had increased, for it was 53,390 to 61,405, or 46.6% to 53.4%.

The women of the squatter class were variously described as "timid, queer, cowed in the presence of their men, and mentally starved." It was said also that they were rather poor cooks, and were ignorant, slothful, and unambitious. In other words, they were fit mates for their indolent, surly, shiftless, ignorant, and illiterate husbands.¹³² On the other hand, French women were faithful and affectionate wives, had true gentility, even in the lowest class, and were excellent cooks and housekeepers. They were highly respected by their husbands.¹³³

Among the American settlers, the women were on the whole virtuous, able, industrious, modest, even to timidity, and made excellent wives and mothers for a pioneer society. They performed rather arduous household tasks, spun, carded, and wove the clothing for their families; frequently took the place of nurse and physician; were active in religious organizations; and did acts of neighborly kindness. Beltrami said the women in St. Louis were so pretty and well-dressed that they

¹²⁹ *United States Census*, 1840.

¹³⁰ *Missouri Gazette*, October 26, 1816; August 30, 1817; November 6, 1818; June 9, October 20, 1819; *Missouri Intelligencer*, July 9, 1819.

¹³¹ Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 229; Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 102-103, 121-122.

¹³² Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures*, pp. 51-52, 140-145; Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life*, pp. 101-102, 121-123.

¹³³ Anderson, Hattie M., "Peopling a Frontier State," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2 (Jan., 1937), p. 154.

made him forget he "was on the threshold of savage life."¹³⁴ On the whole the women were no more illiterate than the men.

In St. Louis an Emigrant Aid Society was formed in 1818 by the men to take care of the immigrants then coming in.¹³⁵ Later the charitable work of the city was taken over by the women.¹³⁶ Although there was some good natured raillery against their work,¹³⁷ the editor of the *Missouri Republican* thought such work "suited to the modest and retiring character of the female sex."¹³⁸ The Sisters of Charity organized the first hospital in St. Louis in 1828, with the financial support of John Mullanphy.¹³⁹

At public dinners scarcely an interest was omitted in the numerous toasts and so it is not strange that the women, who frequently prepared the feast, were almost invariably toasted. The following are typical: "The ladies who have honored us with their presence this day";¹⁴⁰ "The American ladies—may they combine the patriotism of Spartans with the elegance of the Athenians";¹⁴¹ "The Missouri fair—may they be virtuous maids, loving wives, and exemplary matrons";¹⁴² "The Fair—whose society is the source of the purest pleasure, and fraught with the choicest blessing";¹⁴³ "The American Fair—the smiles of virtue are the best rewards of the brave."¹⁴⁴ Just as backwoods women did not eat with the men,¹⁴⁵ so women sometimes withdrew from public dinners when the time arrived for drinking the toasts.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁴Beltrami, Giacomo C., *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America*, Vol. II, pp. 113-114, 124.

¹³⁵*Missouri Gazette*, February 13, 1818.

¹³⁶*St. Louis Enquirer*, January 6, 1824; *Missouri Republican*, September 6, 1824. Article signed "B-".

¹³⁷*Missouri Republican*, January 10, 1825. "Why not organize a Gadding or Slandering Society for the Ladies?"

¹³⁸*Missouri Republican*, January 26, 1824.

¹³⁹Trenholme, Louise I., *History of Nursing in Missouri*, pp. 3-10.

¹⁴⁰*Missouri Gazette*, July 28, 1819. Fourth of July celebration at Chesterfield.

¹⁴¹*St. Louis Enquirer*, April 15, 1820. St. Patrick's Day celebration at St. Louis.

¹⁴²*Missourian*, August 1, 1822. Fourth of July celebration at Palmyra.

¹⁴³*Missouri Intelligencer*, August 7, 1824. Fourth of July celebration at Ft. Atkinson.

¹⁴⁴*Missouri Republican*, July 18, 1825. Fourth of July celebration at Palmyra.

¹⁴⁵Flint, *Recollections*, pp. 177-178.

¹⁴⁶*Missouri Intelligencer*, August 2, 1827. Fourth of July celebration at Columbia.

One of the customs and courtesies of the time was to refrain from discussing women individually in the newspapers.¹⁴⁷ Apparently the following is a genuine appreciation of women that might have been said of them in general any time during the period:¹⁴⁸

Women are not only formed for retirement, but they know how to yield to circumstances with more grace, to submit to adversity with more composure than their turbulent coadjutors. Women are timid, yet they resist despair; they shun all active contest, but their fortitude, though passive, is steady. Sudden danger appalls them; but suffering, privation, disappointments, sorrow—women can bear all these, and even display greatness of mind in bearing them, whilst men frequently sink under such calamities.

Since the frontier was a refuge for many who had failed to adjust themselves socially in the older settlements, it would be strange not to find evidence in Missouri of the instability of marital life. In a signed statement, the Rev. Salmon Giddings said there was a spirit of licentiousness in Missouri.¹⁴⁹ According to the newspapers, there were many cases of separation and suits for divorce.¹⁵⁰ Now and then a man was guilty of bigamy.¹⁵¹ The law provided one hundred lashes for this, but evidently it could not be enforced in a frontier country where there was a high regard for personal dignity.¹⁵² There is much evidence, however, that society as a whole frowned upon marital irregularities and upon remaining unmarried. Under the title of "Receipt to make a Good Wife," the following anonymous article was published:¹⁵³

I have lately heard many men complaining of their wives. Applications for divorce are frequent. On examination I find it is common of such men to drink freely and then abuse their wives, treating them harshly and also using profane and abusive language. Others are lewd and in-

¹⁴⁷*St. Louis Enquirer*, April 15, 1820.

¹⁴⁸*Missouri Gazette*, December 28, 1816.

¹⁴⁹*Missouri Gazette*, January 30, 1818. Article by Giddings.

¹⁵⁰See *Missouri Gazette*, January 1, 1819; *Missouri Intelligencer*, October 5, 1819; *St. Louis Enquirer*, March 1, 1820, and so on through the decade.

¹⁵¹McAnally, *History of Methodism*, p. 216. McAnally gives an account of one Froe, who posed as a Methodist minister and who was reputed to have had seven wives at one time. *St. Louis Enquirer*, November 20, 1821; *Missouri Intelligencer*, April 10, 1827.

¹⁵²*St. Louis Enquirer*, November 25, 1820.

¹⁵³*Missouri Gazette*, July 17, 1818.

continent. They then complain because their wives will not love them for such good conduct, and appear displeased. . . .

Let a man be temperate, treat his wife with respect, tenderness, and esteem, be faithful to her in love, striving to make her happy, and shun vice, and he will have the love and esteem of his wife. She will be the solace of his grief, his pride and the brightest ornament of his house and will render him respected.

One reformer suggested that the evil of unstable marital relations might be lessened if the law required the publication of the banns, the consent of both parents, and held the minister responsible for enforcement of the law.¹⁵⁴ It was also urged that children should be the paramount consideration, not the parents. In order to curtail the evil of divorce, it was suggested that instead of permitting the circuit and supreme courts to grant divorces, that the courts should take cognizance of the facts and the General Assembly alone should grant divorces in order that the dissolution of marriage might be made more difficult.¹⁵⁵ The General Assembly discussed the problem, placed a tax on bachelors in 1820,¹⁵⁶ seemingly granted only few divorces,¹⁵⁷ and in 1825 passed a marriage law forbidding the marriage of minors without the consent of parents¹⁵⁸ and another on divorce and alimony which clarified the matter by stating the grounds for divorce, and placed the jurisdiction of such cases in the circuit court.¹⁵⁹

While cases of marital irregularities were sufficient to arouse public discussion, they seem to have been an exception,

¹⁵⁴*St. Louis Enquirer*, November 25, 1820. Article signed "An Old Citizen."

¹⁵⁵*St. Louis Enquirer*, June 24, 1820. Article signed "C-".

¹⁵⁶*Laws of the State of Missouri*, 1st G. A., 1st Session, 1820, p. 23: By a law approved December 12, 1820, a tax of \$1 was placed on every unmarried free white male above twenty-one and under fifty. *Laws of Missouri*, 1st G. A., 2nd Session, 1821-22, pp. 111-112: The above law was repealed on January 12, 1822. *Laws of Missouri*, 2nd G. A., 1st Session, 1822, p. 91: By a law approved on December 18, 1822, a tax was levied on all free white male inhabitants over twenty-one.

¹⁵⁷*Laws of the State of Missouri*, 1st G. A., 2nd Session, 1821-22, p. 20; *Private Acts of the Third General Assembly*, 1824-25, p. 18.

¹⁵⁸*Revised Statutes of Missouri*, 1825, Vol. II, pp. 527-529.

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 329-332. A divorce could be secured for impotency, bigamy, adultery, desertion, and extreme cruelty. Jurisdiction was granted to the circuit court sitting as a court of chancery, proceedings had to begin in the county of residence, and the complainants must have resided in the State one year. Divorce or alimony would not effect rights acquired under the marriage contract.

for a perusal of the newspapers, of the accounts of travelers, and of the biographies of leading citizens, indicates that, on the whole, family life was sound. Economic conditions encouraged marriage. As Timothy Flint said:¹⁰⁰

The environment in which the settlers found themselves offered every inducement to marry and establish a family. It required only about two years' labor to get a farm ready for comfortable living. Two days' labor yielded as much as a week's labor in the north, and an industrious man could find plenty to do. Then, too, he could look forward to settling his sons around him.

In the heated political campaign of 1820, one candidate was denounced for resigning from an office to take a more lucrative one, which would be excusable in a man with a family, but not in a bachelor. Further, it was even suggested that suffrage be confined to men of families.¹⁰¹ The issue over slavery in Missouri became bitter and since among those opposed to restriction were unmarried lawyers of St. Louis, including Thomas Hart Benton, bitter jibes were made against bachelors and their morals.¹⁰² Again in regard to candidates for the Constitutional Convention, it was said:¹⁰³

In ancient times none but heads of families; none but men long exercised by every act of usefulness and virtue, and whitened by years, were called to the National Councils. But in the last instance, we have seen not less than half a dozen bachelors, the most part of them lawyers, too, between thirty-five and fifty years old, half green and half dry, offering their services as candidates, and magnanimously reducing their numbers by a compromise among themselves to three or four, in order to play a surer game. True it is, they do not present to the view of the community the old-fashioned pledges of deep concern in public welfare, I mean lawful wives and legitimate children.

In 1824 the *Missouri Intelligencer* contended that those who deserved the right of speaking for the public were men

¹⁰⁰ Flint, *Recollections*, p. 250.

¹⁰¹ *Missouri Gazette*, April 26, 1820. Article signed "A Farmer."

¹⁰² *Missouri Gazette*, May 10, 1820. In an article signed "Fair Play" it was said that the co-editor of the *Enquirer* had denounced preachers. "Fair Play" queried, "Is the right to engage in the discussion of the question of slavery and give an opinion upon it, really confined and secured to none but an old sinful, obdurate bachelor, a father of Negroes, and a murderer?" See also, *Missouri Gazette*, April 19, 1820, article signed "A Head of a Family."

¹⁰³ *Missouri Gazette*, May 17, 1820.

who were citizens of the State, had a family, and were owners, possessors, or occupiers of real or personal estate.¹⁸⁴ As late as 1826, Dr. Jewell of Boone county was charged by an opponent with being an old bachelor.¹⁸⁵

Undoubtedly the ideal of good citizenship was to marry at the proper time¹⁸⁶ and rear a large family of sons and daughters—that is “to multiply and replenish the earth.”

(*To be continued.*)

¹⁸⁴*Missouri Gazette*, November 3, 1819: “Marriage is in some respects like death. It is unknown to us till we have tried it and then it is too late to repent.”

¹⁸⁵*Missouri Intelligencer*, June 9, 1826.

¹⁸⁶The *Missouri Gazette* of November 8, 1820, quoting the *New York American*, announced the many benefits of the married state for both men and women, and insisted that marriage gave a longer expectation of life.

THE PRESERVATION AND DISSEMINATION OF MISSOURI HISTORY¹

BY E. M. VIOLETTE

There is no clear cut distinction between the two phases of my subject. The preservation of the evidences and records of history involves to a certain extent the dissemination of its knowledge, and the very act of dissemination proves often to be a means of preservation. But as far as possible, I shall try to deal with these two phases separately.

Missouri is not alone in the effort to preserve and disseminate her history. Practically all the states in the Union are doing the same thing for their history. Some of them began in advance of Missouri and have made greater progress than she has, but Missouri is by no means trailing along in the rear. She has indeed accomplished much that is very creditable and that places her well in the front rank among the states that are engaged in similar effort.

In bringing under review what has been and is being done today to preserve and disseminate Missouri history, I shall, to a very large extent, deal with many very familiar facts; but I trust that the method of presenting them will lend additional interest and that my conclusions will challenge your thought and judgment.

Beginning with the prehistoric period in Missouri, may I say that few other states in the Union present a better field for archaeological research than does Missouri. The State is literally strewn with evidences of human habitation reaching back into the far distant past. They are to be found in caves or rock shelters, mounds, and village sites, to say nothing of the implements and weapons scattered here and there, especially along river banks. Of the one hundred caves or rock shelters in the State that give some indication of early human habitation there are three of particular interest:

¹Compiled at the request of the Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, from notes used by the author in an address before the Adair County Historical Society on October 11, 1937.

one in Pulaski county, called Miller's Cave, and two in McDonald county, one of which is near Noel and the other near Pineville, called Jacob's Cavern. Jacob's Cavern appears to have been the place of earliest habitation in Missouri. Indeed one archaeologist of recognized standing has come to the rather astounding conclusion that it was first inhabited as far back as 16,080 B. C. He has, moreover, gone farther and calculated, after a certain methodology, the periods during which it was first occupied, then unoccupied, and still later re-occupied. The numerous mounds in the State (28,000 according to a state-wide survey made by Louis Houck thirty years ago while preparing his *History of Missouri*) reveal the existence of a comparatively later people in the State than the Cave Dwellers. The prehistoric village sites yet remaining may be those of Indians who were here shortly before the coming of the white man into the State.

Prehistoric life in Missouri has been the object of a great deal of study, in the past seventy-five years at least, by archaeologists and geologists, and many of the remains have been collected and placed in museums with some record of where they came from and the conditions under which they were found. The most notable of these collections is the one owned by the Missouri Historical Society in the Jefferson Memorial at St. Louis. Moreover, numerous articles and books have been written on the subject, many of which have been published by the Smithsonian Institution at Washington.

But there has been a great deal of useless collecting of remains of the prehistoric period of our State, because no record has been kept of where they came from or the conditions under which they were found. Hence many of the collections of Indian relics in private homes and in museums are to the archaeologists mere souvenirs or playthings with little or no scientific value as evidences of the prehistoric period. Many prehistoric village sites have, moreover, been rifled or destroyed, and mounds have been dug into by amateurs and the remains found in them scattered or lost and some of them destroyed. There may have been justification for levelling some of the mounds in the State, but it

seems a great pity that all of those in St. Louis, including the Big Mound in the northern part of the city, which gave it the popular name of "Mound City" in the early nineteenth century, should have been completely destroyed just for the sake of laying out more streets and providing more space for building purposes.

Fortunately a very active state-wide organization, the Missouri Archaeological Society, with headquarters at the University of Missouri at Columbia, has recently been brought into existence for the purpose of safeguarding prehistoric sites and superintending the collection of prehistoric relics and remains in Missouri. It has already arranged with the State legislature, and with the National government through the P. W. A., for the preservation of a certain Indian village site in Saline county that was discovered thirty years or more ago and that fortunately has not yet been destroyed. This Society has also begun the publication of a journal which at present is little more than a news-letter to its members, but which it hopes shortly to expand into something after the manner of the better archaeological periodicals.

In passing from the prehistoric to the historic period in Missouri, I shall merely call attention to a number of things that have been or are being done to preserve the evidences of our past and cite just a few illustrations. Any attempt to be exhaustive would, of course, be entirely out of place here.

First, let me mention the erection of markers of one kind or another upon historic sites. They are to be found on a number of battlefields, such as Wilson's Creek, Lexington and Pilot Knob, and also on the sites of several old forts, such as Fort Zumwalt in St. Charles county and Fort Matson in Adair county. The sites of at least three early educational institutions in the State have been marked (Columbia College at Columbia, Cumberland Academy at Kirksville, and the Masonic College at Lexington), and of at least one newspaper (the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser* at Franklin).

A number of historic buildings have been preserved and are being cared for either by some society organized for that

purpose or by interested individuals. Among them are McKendree Chapel near Jackson in Cape Girardeau county, built in 1819, and the oldest Methodist church building in Missouri; the little log cabin college built by the Lutherans at Altenburg in Perry county in 1839; Arrow Rock Tavern, famous the country over; the first osteopathic school building in the world, a little frame house in Kirksville; the old Catholic cathedral and the old St. Louis county courthouse in St. Louis; the building at St. Charles which was used as the State capitol from 1821 to 1826; and the columns of the original building of the University of Missouri and also those of the original Boone county courthouse, both in Columbia. Several homes of famous Missourians are also being preserved, such as the Nathan Boone home near Marthasville, where Daniel Boone died in 1820; the childhood home of Eugene Field in St. Louis; the birthplace of Mark Twain in Florida and his childhood home at Hannibal, with its famous board fence; and the Dent home in St. Louis where Ulysses S. Grant and Julia Dent were married. In this list there may be included also the house in which Dr. A. T. Still was born and which has recently been removed from its original site in Virginia to Kirksville.

At least two historic trails and one cross-state highway in Missouri have been marked. The old Boon's Lick Trail, which, with its extension from the site of old Franklin to the western border of the State, is now more familiarly known as the Santa Fe Trail, was marked by the State of Missouri and the Missouri Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution a number of years ago. Four markers along the route of the old King's Highway, the early Spanish road which led from New Madrid to St. Louis, were erected in 1917 by the Daughters of the American Revolution at Cape Girardeau, Perryville, Ste. Genevieve, and Kimmswick. In 1932 the late George A. Mahan of Hannibal marked the route of U. S. Highway 36 between Hannibal and St. Joseph with large cast aluminum markers on which were inscribed by the State Historical Society of Missouri the historical record of the places along the way.

A few old cemeteries of historical significance, because of their being the last resting places of famous pioneers in the State, are being carefully preserved. The most noted of these is the one at Ste. Genevieve.

The significant thing about the preservation of historic buildings, public or private, is that it has been done with the very definite intent of keeping them as historical relics. Some of these buildings, it is true, were for a long time badly neglected and fell into a dilapidated condition before any attempt was made to preserve them against complete deterioration or destruction. But the fact that they have been taken over by individuals or organizations and put under some sort of care as historic structures is a very gratifying evidence of our growing historical mindedness.

Besides markers on historical sites and the preservation of historic buildings, numerous monuments have been erected here and there in the State in commemoration of the lives of men who have been of great credit to Missouri. It is significant that the State of Missouri through legislative appropriation has erected monuments or statues in honor of a number of her famous sons, among them: David Barton, United States senator, at Boonville; Alexander W. Doniphan, general in the Mexican war, at Richmond; Sterling Price, governor and general in the Confederate States army, at Keytesville; Joseph McClurg, governor, at Lebanon; Robert M. Stewart, governor, at St. Joseph; B. Gratz Brown, governor, in St. Louis county; Austin A. King governor, at Richmond; James Shields, United States senator from three different states (Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri), at Carrollton; Lewis F. Linn, United States senator, at Ste. Genevieve; John S. Marmaduke, governor, at Jefferson City; Champ Clark, congressman and speaker of the national House of Representatives, at Bowling Green; William Joel Stone, governor and United States senator, at Nevada; and Mark Twain at both Florida and Hannibal. It is noteworthy that the only man to whom the State of Missouri has erected two monuments was neither a soldier nor a statesman.

Many other monuments or statues have been erected in honor of great men and women in our State either by private

individuals or societies, counties or cities. Among these monuments are those honoring the following persons: Thomas Hart Benton, United States senator, at St. Louis; Francis P. Blair, Jr., statesman and general in the Union army, at St. Louis; Andrew T. Still, founder of osteopathy, and Joseph Baldwin, founder of the normal school system in Missouri, at Kirksville; James S. Rollins, "Father of the University of Missouri," at Columbia; Clara Hoffman, leader in the temperance movement in Missouri, at Columbia; James Callaway, hero of the War of 1812, at Fulton; Alexander Buckner, United States senator, at Cape Girardeau; Richard P. Bland, congressman, at Lebanon; Nathaniel Lyon, general in the Union army, at St. Louis; and Carry Nation, Kansas crusader against liquor, at Belton.

Historical museums, devoted chiefly to the history of Missouri, have been and are being established in different parts of the State. Two are of especial significance: one in the Jefferson Memorial at St. Louis and the other in the public library in Kansas City. Each of these two museums has, in addition to its fine archaeological collection, a large number of exhibits relating to historical times. The Missouri Resources Museum maintained by the State in the capitol at Jefferson City, includes exhibits which pertain to Missouri's flora and fauna and other natural resources of the State. A Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Hall, containing historical relics of Missouri's part in various wars, is maintained as a part of the Resources Museum. There are at least two very creditable local museums in the State: one at Ste. Genevieve, the oldest town in the State, and the other at Hannibal, commemorative of Mark Twain. Some of the historic homes that are being preserved, such as the birthplace of Mark Twain at Florida and his boyhood home in Hannibal and the boyhood home of Eugene Field in St. Louis, contain small collections of historical relics pertaining chiefly to these two men respectively. They invest these buildings somewhat with the atmosphere of the times in which these two men lived and reveal rather tangibly something of their personality. In the Arrow Rock Tavern is displayed a collection of historical relics relating to central Missouri. At least two educational

institutions in the State, the State Teachers Colleges at Kirksville and Cape Girardeau, have small but very good historical collections. The one at Kirksville, on account of crowded conditions, is at the present time boxed and in storage. The possibilities and advantages of historical museums in our educational institutions are much greater than most educators realize.

Several artists of great ability have contributed to the preservation of Missouri history on canvas. Among them may be mentioned Carl Wimar, noted for his portraits of chiefs of the Indian tribes of Missouri; George Caleb Bingham, whose scenes of Missouri life in the fifties and sixties are masterpieces of art; Chester Harding, distinguished for his portraits of Daniel Boone; and F. O. Sylvester, whose Mississippi river views are among the great landscape paintings of the country. Many painters and sculptors, too numerous to be even named here, have depicted Missourians and Missouri history in paintings and statuary in the new State capitol. Unfortunately, one modern artist has greatly misrepresented the State in his murals in that building by including certain notorious characters who were not and are not typical of the citizens of the State, thus perpetuating the memory of their misdeeds.

The most important among the agencies engaged in preserving our State history are the various historical societies, State and local. Missouri has two historical societies whose field of activity is statewide: the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, which is the official State organization, and the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis, which is a privately endowed institution. Most of the states in the Union have historical societies, but few have two such excellent organizations as has Missouri.

The Missouri Historical Society is thirty-two years older than the State Historical Society of Missouri, having been organized in 1866. Its collection was first housed in the courthouse and then in several other places (among them an old residence in Lucas Place) before it was moved in 1913 to the present quarters in the Jefferson Memorial building, which was the gift of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904.

This Society is largely maintained by the income from an endowment amounting to \$250,000. Besides its magnificent library and historical museum, it has the best collection of manuscript material in the State, including the Spanish archives of four of the original districts in the State (Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles and New Madrid), a part of the original manuscripts of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, many letters dealing with the George Rogers Clark Expedition, and the largest collection of manuscripts relating to the fur trade in the Mississippi Valley. It has also a complete file of the *Missouri Gazette*, founded in 1808, and its successors under different names down to the suspension of the *St. Louis Republic* in 1919.

The State Historical Society of Missouri was founded in 1898 by the Missouri Press Association, largely through the efforts of the late Edwin W. Stephens and Walter Williams of Columbia. The Society was incorporated in 1899, became the trustee of the State in 1901, and has since been maintained by State appropriation. It has been housed on the campus of the University of Missouri since its beginning: first, in what is now known as Jesse Hall, and since 1915 in the Library building. Besides its excellent collections of books and pamphlets, numbering more than 100,000, it has the most extensive collection of Missouri newspapers in the State. Every county is represented by a file of one or more of its newspapers since 1899, and in addition, the files of many papers, dating far back of that time, have been deposited with this Society. It has also the best collection in the State of the official reports of the various State departments. The nucleus of this collection was gathered by Colonel F. A. Sampson, the second secretary of the Society, during a period of thirty years before he became secretary. During this time he traveled widely over the State as a lawyer and an insurance agent, and taking advantage of his opportunities to visit court-houses and other public places here and there, he picked up printed State documentary material and took it to his home in Sedalia. His collection soon began to be known to students of Missouri history, and through his generosity, it was opened to them for use in his home long before he donated it to the

State Historical Society of Missouri in Columbia. This Society has long had the second largest membership among state historical societies in the United States and is making a special effort to become the largest.² Its membership is made upon largely of business and professional men and women. Oddly enough the teaching profession is greatly outnumbered by those belonging to other professions, a rather serious reflection on the pedagogues of Missouri.

There are a few active county historical societies, such as those in Adair, Cape Girardeau, Clay, Johnson and Lafayette counties,³ which in one way or another are helping to keep alive the history and traditions of their respective counties and which oftentimes maintain collections of historical material and relics which are worthwhile.

The means of dissemination of our State history are numerous and varied. Some of the more important, however, may be summarized briefly under the following heads:

First, popular articles both in the county and city newspapers. The most outstanding of these articles, both from the standpoint of accuracy and interest, are those that are prepared by the State Historical Society at Columbia under the caption "This Week in Missouri History." They usually pertain to the events that, in the calendar of Missouri history, occurred on some anniversary of that week. The series was begun in February, 1925, and by February, 1938, the 679th article in the series will have been issued. This is the oldest and largest series of its kind in the United States. Among the historical articles written by local historians or by members of the staffs of the newspapers, there are a few which are not always of the highest order and do not always stand up under close scrutiny, but most of them are very trustworthy.

Second, books on Missouri history or on American history that give considerable attention to Missouri. It

²Since this was written, the Society has reached first rank in membership among all state historical societies in the United States.—Ed.

³To this list should be added the St. Charles County Historical Society, the Vernon County Historical Society, and the Howard-Cooper Historical Society, all of which have been organized since this address was made.—Ed.

was not so long ago that if one owned a copy of Switzler's *History of Missouri* (which appeared in 1879) and a history of his own county (the county histories of Missouri began to appear in the eighties), and a copy of the *History of the Pioneer Families of Missouri* by Bryan and Rose, he had a fairly creditable collection of Missouriiana. Books on Missouri history are now coming out every year and the end is not in sight by any means. They are not only textbooks but books dealing with various phases of our history and with prominent Missouri characters. One must now have in his library at least fifty volumes on Missouri history if he would begin to make a good showing on the subject.

Third, masters' and doctors' theses on the history and government of Missouri which are being produced by graduate students in the University of Missouri, Washington University and St. Louis University. These theses vary greatly in merit, but those written in the last ten or fifteen years are generally very creditable. Most all of them are yet in manuscript form, but they are available in the libraries of these three universities for anyone interested in Missouri history and are especially valuable to those who are preparing secondary articles or textbooks on the history of Missouri.

Fourth, publications of the two leading societies. The Missouri Historical Society in 1880 began the publication of a periodical entitled the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, but it was discontinued with the publication of Volume 6, Number 3, in 1931. The Society has also brought out eight volumes of monographs and studies of great merit. Since December, 1933, it has been publishing a popular series called *Glimpses of the Past*, which is now in its fourth volume.

Since 1906, the State Historical Society of Missouri has been publishing a quarterly magazine called *The Missouri Historical Review*, which has grown in size and quality as the years have passed. The *Review* is now in its thirty-second volume. It is most ably edited and contains not only learned articles that compare favorably with those of other state historical periodicals, but also thoroughly reliable items and notes on Missouri that appeal to all intelligent readers inter-

ested in the history of the State. The State Historical Society has also published the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* in twelve volumes, the *Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875* in two volumes, and is now engaged in publishing the *Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*,⁴ which, when completed will comprise a series of ten or more volumes.

Incidental mention should be made of the various anniversary celebrations that have been held in Missouri during the past twenty-five years at least, commemorating the one hundredth, seventy-fifth or fiftieth anniversary of some important historical event in the State. Aside from those held in many towns and cities in the State in 1921, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State into the Union, there have been two others that were somewhat statewide in their significance: the first in St. Louis in 1914, celebrating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the metropolis of the State; and the second, held in Ste. Genevieve in 1935, celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the first permanent settlement in Missouri. Besides these there have been numerous other celebrations commemorating the organization of counties, the founding of towns, the beginning of churches, and the like.

Most of these celebrations have included as their most important feature historical pageants, many of which took more than mere dramatic license in presenting the past. Those held in St. Louis in 1914 and 1921 were, however, remarkably free from historical defects. Notwithstanding the liberties they have taken with history, these pageants have been the means of bringing to the popular mind some idea of the times and conditions of the past and of the men and women who have made possible our civilization of today. In some instances they may have developed an unwarranted sense of superiority on our part toward our ancestors, but in general they have tended to make most of us realize our indebtedness to them for what we enjoy today.

⁴Three volumes of the *Debates* have been published. Volumes IV and V will appear in 1938.—Ed.

From the foregoing summary of what we are doing to preserve and disseminate the history of Missouri, it is very evident that we Missourians are becoming historically minded. We are, however, not confining our interest to Missouri history alone. There are many indications of our interest in the wider history of our own nation and the world.

What does this interest in history mean in our lives individually and collectively? Are we any better off for knowing our past? Is there any practical value in the study of history?

Here let me, after the manner of my ministerial friends, take a text. In fact I shall take a double one, which I recently found inscribed on the corners of the façade of the William L. Clements Library on the campus of the University of Michigan. One reads, "In darkness lives the people who knows not its annals." The other, "Tradition fades, but the written record remains ever fresh."

What does it mean to live in the light of history? In the first place, there is a certain cultural value in knowing our past. History, however, is not the only subject that has cultural value; but if there is any difference between the amount of culture acquired from the study of the various branches of knowledge, history ranks very high among them, if not at the very top.

In the second place, history affords us a certain protection against the unwarranted claims that individuals or institutions may make for themselves. Sometimes the claims of individuals are of little consequence, as, for example, that of an old gentleman friend of mine some years ago in Adair county who used to declare that as a boy he had often climbed on Daniel Boone's knee and heard him tell of his wonderful exploits; when, as a matter of fact, Daniel Boone died in 1820 and my friend was not born until 1833. Sometimes individuals may put forth claims for the purpose of their personal aggrandizement and fame, and if we do not know history, they might easily impose upon us. For example, a certain gentleman in one of our great cities sought a few years ago to erect a statue of his great-great-grandfather and inscribe on the base this title: "Founder of the City." It was the historian who

exposed the error of the gentleman's claim and prevented him from carrying out his plan. Sometimes great institutions and organizations also make unwarranted demands upon our allegiance and support through some perversion of history.

Like science, history protects us against superstition. It saves us from becoming credulous and from becoming the dupes of designing men, either in their own behalf or in behalf of the institutions with which they may be connected.

Unfortunately, the lamp of history shines in only one direction—backward. It shows us whence we have come, but it cannot tell us whither we shall go. Historians are not and cannot be prophets, because of the very nature of man. Human actions are not predictable with the certainty with which the movements of the heavenly bodies or the reaction of chemicals or the result of physical forces can be foreseen. All that we can hope for from the study of history is that some of the lessons of the past will show us the way in which we should go. Whether we will proceed in that direction cannot be foretold. The rapid changes of today and the certainty that they will be different tomorrow make the knowledge of the past less and less a guide to the future. Without that knowledge, however, we would be in utter darkness as to how things have come to be what they are today. Therein lies the greatest contribution that history makes to our well-being.

LETTERS OF GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM TO
JAMES S. ROLLINS

EDITED BY C. B. ROLLINS

PART III

LETTERS: SEPTEMBER 7, 1856—MAY 8, 1859

Paris France Sept. 7 1856

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

Yours of Aug. 6th was handed to me by Goupil & cos agent just as our ship was leaving the dock at New York, and we read it out at Sea, after the receding hills of our native land had sunk beneath the horizon. Our voyage across the "great deep" proved to be much more agreeable than I expected to find it. We had nothing which mariners would regard as a storm, although we encountered quite a severe gale, about four days out from New York, which lasted 16 hours. During its continuence, in common with the other passengers, we suffered much from sea sickness. As soon however as the violence of the winds subsided, we became ourselves again, and could do ample justice to the abundant fare spread before us by our Stuart [*sic*].

We were fortunate in embarking upon a large substantial steamer commanded by an able mariner, and most agreeable gentleman, who stinted us in nothing which could add to our security, comfort, or ease. We landed at Havre just a week since and reached this great centre of luxury Art and fashion the next day. Our first object, of course, was to secure permanent and comfortable quarters, which, with the aid of a young gentleman in the employ of Mr Goupil, we succeeded in doing in a few days. We find, however, no boarding houses here such as we have in the United States. A suit of rooms are rented furnished or unfurnished and the occupants must provide their own meals either by preparing them themselves, or obtaining them from the numerous restaurants

with which the city is supplied. We have a parlour and two small bed rooms attached, all neatly and elegantly furnished, for which we pay \$30 per month, and from our present experience we judge that our meals will add about \$25 to this sum, making our expenses for rooms and eating \$55 per month. In order to execute the pictures for our State Capitol I am compelled to have a large room with a high ceiling and a clear unobstructed northern light. I have been able, after much enquiry and search, to find such a one to day, but cannot obtain possession until the middle of October. As it is probable from what my friend at Mr Goupil's informs me that I would scarcely be able to find another in the city so well suited to my purpose, I have concluded to engage it, the rent will be \$13 per month, it is at present occupied by one of the prominent Artists of Paris. While waiting for this studio, I can execute smaller works in our family apartments. Paris is an expensive city to reside in, yet we think we can, by a careful economy, bring our entire expenses within the limits of one hundred dollars per month.¹ Fuel for winter is an indispensable and expensive item. We would not have had much time to see *sights* since we have been here, could we have opened our eyes without beholding them. All that we hear of the splendour of the gay and luxurious city, is fully realized when we enter it. A large portion of the architecture is erected upon the most magnificent scale, and no portion of the city which we have yet visited appears squalid or mean. As you may suppose I employed my earliest leisure in a visit to the gallery of the Louvre. The great collection of works of Art there from all nations and schools, perhaps afford a student advantages which he could not obtain elsewhere. But unless he possessed the power to retain a clear perception of nature through the various guises in which she is here portrayed, like a juror bewildered by a mass of conflicting testimony, he might find himself staggering in doubt, scarcely knowing whether he inclined to truth or falsehood. Yet

¹Bingham, no doubt, had in mind as a comparison the cost of living in Columbia at this time, which is indicated in the University of Missouri catalogue for 1856. It says: "Boarding in private families, with washing, lodging, fuel and lights, from \$2.00 to \$2.50 per week."

amidst the many conflicting statements presented by the masters of the various schools, there are numerous facts to be found, most forcibly and clearly expressed, which may be laid hold of by a matured judgment—and used to great advantage. I shall be compelled to visit the great gallery often before I can be able properly to appreciate the treasures which it contains.

So far as my observation has yet extended, the streets of Paris are kept in excellent condition. I have found no place *entirely* abandoned to filth and vice, as is the case in New York, and even Philadelphia. My experience, however, is brief, *I may yet see the dark spots*. Our greatest inconvenience arises from our ignorance of the French language. We find it exceedingly difficult with all the signs and *parlez vous*'s which we can command, to express our wishes in regard to the most common matters. We hope however in a short time to obtain a sufficient knowledge of the lingo, to enable us to lay in our daily supplies without embarrassment. As we intend to send Clara to a French school, she will likely take the lead in acquiring a use of the language. I have not yet met a face which I had ever seen before since we left New York. I purchased access to a reading room in which are two or three of the most prominent New York papers, and I am able to derive from them, a knowledge of the progress of political affairs at home. I am sorry to see that the bad condition of things in Kansas, has grown worse since we left, but I am not surprised that the outrages originally perpetrated by the followers of Atchison, have been followed by severe retaliations.²

²The border warfare between Missouri and Kansas had been raging for several years. The people in Western Missouri were strongly pro-slavery. A powerful element in Missouri was determined that Kansas should come into the Union a slave state, and had sent hundreds of Missourians into Kansas solely to carry Kansas elections, but not become permanent settlers. These pro-slavery groups were in constant conflict with the free-soil settlers, many of whom, sent out by emigrant aid societies founded in New England, and through financial help given by eastern abolitionists, had come with the double purpose of making Kansas a free state and, by settling there, bettering their own fortunes. For a while the pro-slavery group had the upper hand, but later the free-soil forces became stronger and Kansas entered the Union in 1861 a free state.

I yet hope that good may come out of this evil—that Fremont may be elected, and the rights of American citizens vindicated upon their own soil as well as in foreign lands.

Eliza wishes you to request Bro James Thomas to write to her and direct his letters simply to Paris France by way of Havre. We hope to hear from you soon, give us all the news. Our love to Cousin Mary and the dear young flock around her, may Heaven bless you all.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

Dusseldorf Nov. 4. 1856

Maj. J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

I wrote to Doct. James Thomas about a week since, notifying him of our intention to leave Paris, and promising to write to you soon after our arrival in Dusseldorf. We reached our destination several days since and are very much delighted with our new location. Dusseldorf is but a village compared with Paris, or with our large American cities, yet I question much if there can be found a city in the world where an artist, who sincerely worships Truth and nature, can find a more congenial atmosphere, or obtain more ready facilities in the prosecution of his studies. It was our intention, as you doubtless recollect, when we left the U. S. to remain in Paris. This intention was based entirely upon the supposition that every thing essential to my professional objects could be obtained there in greater profusion and excellence than elsewhere. The city, however, is such a wilderness to a stranger that much which it may contain cannot be found, and that which *is* found, is after such a tedious search, that the seeker is glad to accept it of any quality and at any price. To one familiar with the localities and language, such difficulties, we may suppose, are not presented. During our stay there of nearly two months I could find but one studio adapted to my purposes. This I engaged, and subsequently relinquished, under the supposition that a large

apartment in connection with lodgings, for which we were negotiating, was at my command. The proprietor of the latter however, after I accepted the terms first proposed, thought proper to impose new conditions, and I left him to find a tenant elsewhere. Immediately upon our arrival in Dusseldorf I called upon Leutze, the famous painter, who received me as cordially as if I had been a brother, and without a moment's delay assisted me in finding a Studio, and introduced me to one of his American pupils through whose guidance I shortly obtained accommodations of the best kind, and upon most reasonable terms for Eliza and Clara. I send you enclosed, a small map of the City on which I have marked my Studio and our dwelling. They are about a quarter of a mile apart. The space intervening is called the Hofgarten, and constitutes one of the most beautiful pleasure grounds that I ever beheld. It is over-grown with large trees, arranged in imitation of nature, and traversed by firm meandering walks which render every portion accessible. Eliza and Clara can here roam at pleasure in the most perfect security, and when they wish to go beyond its confines, there are beautiful ornamental roads extending into the country as far as the eye can reach, upon which they meet no dashing vehicles, such as encumber the gay avenues of Paris, causing perpetual alarm to the humble pedestrian. So far as my observation has yet extended, we are located precisely as I have desired, and if health shall be spared to us, I can anticipate no drawback in the prosecution of my labors. I have ordered a large canvass, 8 by 12 feet, for the portrait of Washington, and as soon as it is ready I will commence the work. I have already a small study of the figure which I executed in Paris. I have some idea of painting Jefferson in a sitting posture surrounded by his library and other accessories, indicating his character both as Statesman and Philosopher. Let me have your views in regard to it. I have not yet made any definite arrangements in regard to the publication of my last picture (The verdict of the People). I made a proposition to Mr Goupil in Paris who wishes to hear from his agent in New York before responding to it. He informed me that the best engravers in Paris were too much engaged to undertake the

work immediately, so that nothing could be lost by a little delay. I was strongly disposed to become my own publisher, and made my terms such as I thought it likely they would reject, and will not be at all dissatisfied should my proposition be declined.

There is an engraver in Berlin whose works I like very much, and Leutze tells me that he is likely in Dusseldorf at the present time. Were he to undertake one of my pictures, and succeed well with it, I should like to make a permanent arrangement for the future, and secure his services upon all that I may hereafter desire to publish.

I called upon our national representative at the court of France³ just before leaving Paris, being introduced to him as a Missourian, he thought to compliment me by taking for granted my association with the *border ruffians*; but I promptly denied the connection despite of its honors, and gave him to understand that Greeley⁴ himself could not hold the conduct of those rascals in greater detestation than I did. This brought up the whole matter of the sectional controversy between the north and the south, and as there was no cudgel over my head, or mob at hand to apply the tar and feathers I felt at liberty to return thrust for thrust, which I did in such a manner, as to make him appear, in the course of half an hour, quite willing to drop the subject. He is, as you know, a politician of that ultra Southern school, who deem the right to own negroes and take them where they please, as the only right in the world worth contending for. Notwithstanding our sharp controversy I was very well pleased with Mr Mason. He is without doubt an amiable old gentleman, but not overburdened with information in regard to the great

³John Young Mason (1799-1859), congressman and diplomat. With Soulé and Buchanan, ministers to Spain and England respectively, he drew up the Ostend Manifesto (1854). (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XVII, p. 840.) In his estimate of Mason, Bingham did not differ widely from Hawthorne, who called Mason "a fat-brained, good-hearted, sensible old man."

⁴Horace Greeley (1811-1872), anti-slavery leader, famous editor of the *New York Tribune* and one of the founders of the Republican party. After Jefferson Davis had been imprisoned for two years in Fortress Monroe, following the conclusion of the Civil War, Greeley, with others, signed his bail bond. Greeley was nominated (1872) by the Liberal Republicans for the presidency, with B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for vice president. The ticket was defeated and Greeley died a month later.

question now dividing the Union. By the by, I believe this is the very day upon which our Presidential election takes place. If so, my faith is strong that Fremont will be the President elect to-morrow. I have not yet learned the result of the Pennsylvania state election, which took place on the 14th of last month. If the Republicans have carried that state,⁵ as indications led me to believe they would, their triumph, with fair play, must be certain. If Fremont should really be elected, I apprehend, from threats that have been uttered by the chivalry,⁶ that there will be great difficulty in finding men in the slave states willing to accept office from him. Should this prove to be the case, I wish you to notify your friend *Jim* [Frank] Blair, who will have, or at least *ought* to have great influence with his administration,⁷ that I will agree, in such an *unprecedented* emergency, to accept a foreign post, where the pay greatly exceeds the labor, such for instance as that which the junior Cass⁸ now holds at Rome. Quite likely that gentleman will give up the place in disgust, in which event it might be regarded as an act of benevolence on my part to step into it. I think, save in the matter of kissing his great toe, that I could get along with his holiness the Pope very well. Tell Bro James Thomas, when he writes to us, to give us the news more in detail as regards our friends and relatives, and especially all that he can in

⁵The Democrats carried Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania state elections in presidential years were for a long time considered a barometer of the presidential election. Writing in 1883 his *Life of James Buchanan*, George Ticknor Curtis says: "In all Presidential elections which have occurred for the past fifty years, the state election in Pennsylvania, occurring in the autumn before the election of a President, has been regarded as of great importance."

⁶A cant term for the people of the South.

⁷The Blairs were staunch supporters of Fremont and took the lead in pre-convention activities. The elder Blair was largely responsible for Fremont's nomination for the presidency and was one of the managers of his campaign. He tried in vain to get Benton's endorsement of Fremont, who was Benton's son-in-law, and the defeat of Fremont so distressed him that he shed tears when informed of it. Montgomery Blair was an old friend of Fremont and one of his legal counsel in the Mariposa difficulties. Frank, Jr., was an enthusiastic worker for Fremont and would have exercised influence with the administration had Fremont been elected.

⁸Lewis Cass, Jr., son of the famous Lewis Cass, was appointed chargé d'affaires to the papal states in 1849, and in 1854 was promoted to be United States minister resident in Italy, where he remained until 1858. (*Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. I, p. 553.)

regard to both old and young at Kansas [City]. I left instructions to have letters forwarded to us from Paris, and hope to have one from you soon. Eliza and Clara join me in love to you and Cousin Mary and all the members of your family, and we look forward with pleasing anticipation to a reunion with you at no very distant future, let us hear from you as often as is compatible with your numerous engagements.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

No 35 Kaiser Strasse Düsseldorf
Prussia

Dec. 14 1856

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dr Sir

Although I have not yet had the good fortune to receive a line from you since our arrival in Europe, I endeavor to fulfil my purpose of writing to you about once a month. My last I forwarded to you soon after we reached Düsseldorf, expressing therein my satisfaction with the city in general, but more especially in regard to the superior facilities which it affords to Artists. Although the city does not contain more than thirty or forty thousand inhabitants, we of the brush burin and chisel muster about five hundred strong. They are from all countries, though, as a matter of course, chiefly from Germany. There are at present but six, including my self, from the United States; but we look for accessions to our number in the spring. The striking peculiarity of the school which flourishes here by its own inherent vitality, is a total disregard of the "old masters" and a direct resort to nature for the truths which it employs. As might be expected, works springing from a principle of execution so simple and so rational are characterized by a freshness vigor and truth, which captivates those of common understanding and is none the less agreeable to minds of the highest cultivation. But we will drop the subject of Art for the present, except

a single statement, which I must not omit, to the effect that I have the full length of "The Father of his Country standing up six feet and a half in my studio, and that the arrangement and general effect of the picture as well as the likeness is highly approved by my fellow-Americans.

When I wrote to you last month I had not received any news of the presidential, or even of the Pennsylvania State Election, and was flattering myself with the hope that my party (the Republicans) would be successful, and that I might be favoured with a diplomatic appointment to the court of his Holiness the Pope. The election of Buchanan however has dispelled this "fond illusive dream" and I must be content to "bide my time, and live for the next four years upon the fruits of the pallet alone. It may be however that the sins of the fathers will not be visited upon the children, and that, by your aid and the aid of others whom you may interest in furtherance of my wishes, Horace may be enabled to succeed in obtaining the situation at West Point to which his district will be entitled as soon as Young Marmaduke⁹ (of Saline) who is the present incumbent shall graduate. This, as his brother informed me, will be next June or July. I am not acquainted with the successor of our lamented friend John G. Miller¹⁰ or I might address him directly upon the subject. It may be somewhat important that an application with proper recommendations be presented to the Secretary of War¹¹ at once in order to be in advance of future competition. Your own judgment however will suggest to you what is best to be done. Woodson, you know, will not be in Washington until the appointment in all probability shall have been made. Our entire delegation in Congress, so far

⁹John Sappington Marmaduke (1833-1887), son of Governor M. M. Marmaduke. He was graduated from West Point in 1857 and entered the Confederate Army in 1861 as first lieutenant. He commanded the cavalry at Price's defense of Little Rock and here fought a duel with and killed General L. M. Walker, a brother officer. He was elected governor of Missouri in 1884, died in office, and is buried in Jefferson City.

¹⁰John Gaines Miller (1812-1856), Whig member of Congress from Missouri from 1851 to 1856. Thomas Peter Akers (1828-1877), was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Miller, and served from August 18, 1856, to March 3, 1857.

¹¹Jefferson Davis (1808-1889), secretary of war in Pierce's cabinet, and later president of the Southern Confederacy.

as I know them, are friendly to me personally, and might be induced to join in urging upon the Secretary of War the appointment of Horace. A recommendation from Mr. Thomas and others who are acquainted with his capacity and personal qualities should accompany the application. Whatever you shall be able to accomplish in the matter will add to obligations which are already far beyond my ability to discharge, but I know you will not regard my gratitude the less because it is too poor to pay the long accumulating debt to you.

Although the recent election has not terminated according to my wishes or *yours*, I am not without hope that it may prove best for the country. The advocates of Slavery extension may have the good sense to perceive that there is an extent to which they may be carried in behalf of their especial interest which will rouse in fierce opposition the entire north.

If they are not taught by the present indications of concentrating power in opposition to their schemes, to moderate their demands, I think they may justly be regarded as abandoned by God to their peculiar madness, to come to their senses only, when, like the dog in the fable they find both substance and shadow of that which they prize so highly escape from their grasp.

In looking over the results of the Election as they have reached me through the English papers, I feel convinced that Buchanan has succeeded more by tact than principle—by conciliating free-Soilers rather than by the strength of the platform put forth by the party which nominated him. I think his road, while president will be like the negro's Jordan, a hard one to travel. Should he fail to meet the wishes of the nullifiers he will bring upon himself a storm of vituperation tenfold greater than that which overwhelmed poor John Tyler, while on the other hand, should he follow their dictation he will be blown out of political existence by a northern tornado; to spend the remnant of his days amidst alienated friends whom he had beguiled by his promises.

I would like to know what phase your next legislature will most likely assume, or I should rather say your present legislature, for I presume it is in session this winter. The sena-

torial question will be the absorbing one of course, and not to be postponed longer.¹² I suppose you have three parties yet, and that a coalition will therefore be a matter of necessity. Will the Americans and Benton men unite on old Bullion and yourself? or has political virtue entirely departed, and the *rottens* gained compete ascendancy? As I have received no letters or papers I am entirely in the dark in reference to our state affairs. While in Paris we received but one letter from home, this was from our brother Doct. James Thomas, and it conveyed to us the mournful tidings of the hopeless illness of our brother Doct Wm Thomas to whom Eliza has allways been so deeply attached. We cannot hope that he is yet spared, still our anxiety is great to hear from him. Eliza and Clara are both much pleased with Dusseldorf, and join me in love to Cousin Mary yourself and the children, remember us to our friends, and relatives.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

[Postscript written in margin]

P. S. Eliza request Jimmy¹³ to write to Horace and stimulate him? in his studies as much as possible. They may by keeping up a correspondence, be mutually serviceable to each other.

Dusseldorf June 3. 1857

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dr Sir

Yours of April 29th reached us a few days since, and as the space between its arrival and that of the last of its predecessors which had the fortune to reach us was nearly as great

¹²James S. Green and Truten Polk were elected United States senators in 1857. Polk, governor of Missouri at the time, resigned the governorship to accept the United States senatorship.

¹³My oldest brother, James Hickman Rollins. He and Horace Bingham were about the same age and warm boyhood friends. Horace never received the appointment to West Point.

as the vast ocean by which we are separated, it met with a welcome far surpassing the patience with which its appearance had been awaited.

After we arrived in Europe I wrote to you month after month, until, in fact, I became almost ashamed to write more until I could hear something from you in return. I felt no vexation, however, towards yourself as Bro James led you to suppose, for I could not believe that you had not written to us, notwithstanding my inability to conjecture the cause of the miscarriage of your letters. They are doubtless now in the office at Paris. We wrote in due form to the Superintendent of the post there, but no letters have been forwarded to us. Eliza wrote to Bro James, and I suppose she employed such language as she believed would bring the desired letter in the shortest time, and I am highly gratified at her success. Soon after we arrived in Dusseldorf I obtained a very comfortable Studio for the winter, but after I put up the canvass for the portrait of Washington I perceived that I had not as much space as pictures of such a size require. As soon, therefore, as I got it advanced as far, as I deemed it safe to attempt it, towards completion, I postponed it until I could get possession of a large Studio, which I succeeded in doing on yesterday. In these my new quarters I have a good light and ample space for pictures of almost any size, and on the same floor with the studio we have our family apartments, which puts us all together under the same roof. Leutzes studio is upon the lot adjoining mine, and as he is far the most eminent Artist here who speaks English his vicinity is a matter of considerable importance.

I expect in the course of the summer and fall to complete the portraits both of Washington & Jefferson. I have not determined whether I will send them to you, or keep them until we return home ourselves. This will depend upon the length of time I may deem it our interest to remain here.

I have made arrangements for publishing the "Verdict of the People" and intend to be the exclusive proprietor of the print. I have not the slightest fault to find with Goupil & co in regard to any of the transactions, between us; but their interest is divided upon such a multitude of works that they

cannot devote any special attention to the sale of one or two, and mine, like others, must, as a general thing, wait to be asked for before they can be sold.

In looking over my account with the house just as I was leaving New York, I found in reference to the print of the County Election, engraved by Sartain, a mistake against me to the amount of \$700. The younger Goupil having died, his successor at the books had not observed the supplementary contract appended to the articles first drawn up, and by which I was to be furnished with the 700 copies for subscribers, at one dollar per copy less than the regular wholesale price. They stated that they would correct it immediately; but if they have neglected or forgotten it, and any fatality should overtake me while abroad, an examination of the contract which I left in your possession will make the error apparent, should it not have been corrected as promised.

While we were in Paris I could not find any competent engraver who could possibly execute a plate for the 'Verdict of The People' in less than three years, and I have therefore concluded to have it lithographed; as it can be done here in the very best manner, and with an effect superior to any Mezzotint engraving that I have ever seen. My contract with the Artist who undertakes the work secures me the privilege of rejecting it when completed, should it not meet my approbation fully. I am to be furnished with a proof of the finished work in six months from this date. The entire cost of the publication of two thousand copies including paper printing, lithographing and incidentals, will not quite amount to \$...¹⁴ The same number of copies including engraving of the County Election cost \$3500. An immense difference as you will perceive in favour of the publication here, but which you can keep all to yourself. If when the work shall be completed, any one sees proper to purchase it upon good terms, I will sell out entirely, but will not divide the interest by a partnership.

I have some idea of publishing a lithographic print from the portrait of Washington, as I think I could sell a

¹⁴The amount cannot be determined, since the corner of the manuscript page is torn away.

sufficient number in Missouri alone to pay expenses and yield a profit.

You ask me if I can make a living by my profession here. I can only reply, that if a painter cannot support himself in Dusseldorf, or any large city in Germany or Italy, he has not merit to entitle him to support any where. In order to sell pictures here, however, an artist must employ himself upon European subjects. I have no doubt but I could do well with American subjects by publishing them like the "verdict of the people," and putting them in the American market. I have on hand a large picture of "life on the Mississippi" which will not require a great while to complete, and which promises to be far ahead of any work of that class which I have yet undertaken. I have it in contemplation to paint, while we remain here, a life size figure picture of the Emigration of Boone,¹⁵ with the expectation of selling it to Congress and deriving also a profit from its exhibition. I believe this ends all that I have to say at present in regard to what I am doing in the picture line.

I do not make any progress in the German language, being entirely preoccupied with pictures, but Eliza and Clara are advancing quite rapidly, and will, I think, become quite proficient by the time we are ready to return home.

I grieve to discover by your letter that I have probably been such a great loser by the failure of Fremonts election, "A splendid and paying appointment abroad" is what few sane men not overmodest would seriously feel inclined to reject; and since I had the opportunity of measuring the profundity of our Minister in Paris, I have nearly lost the impression previously fixed upon my mind, that it requires other than limited capacity and equally limited acquirements to bring one up to the standard, to which those who, of late, have wielded the destinies of our Republic habitually descend in conferring the most honorable and responsible appointments.

As it will require a long time, however, for a new party to become as degenerate as the present rotten Democracy,

¹⁵Neither the lithographic print of the portrait of Washington nor the life-size picture of "The Emigration of Daniel Boone" was ever made.

I fear I will be quite venerable in age, before the hopes which you encourage can be realized.

I take the New York Tribune which reaches us regularly twice a week, and had learned, before I received your letter, that you were once more on the course for Governor. As you would scarcely be a candidate without some prospect of an election, and as you say you must loose whether you win the race or not,¹⁶ I cannot do otherwise than desire your triumph, for if we *must* suffer loss, it is much more agreeable in success than in defeat. I shall await the result with great anxiety. I cannot but concur in your opinion that the American party is on its last legs, and as the organization, however well intended, has only served to prop up those whose prostration is demanded by the good of the country I shall not regret its entire extinction.

I look forward to a great reaction in regard to the Slavery question. The ultraists of the South will soon discover that in their attempt to grasp all, they have endangered that which they already possessed. Kansas, in spite of the stupendous rascallity to secure it to Slavery, will go, *as it should go*, for freedom. Missouri I trust will follow suit. Tell our friend Blair that I hope he will muster a strong party for emancipation by the time I get back; for as I shall be compelled to march to his music, it will be a great comfort to feel my weakness braced by respectable numbers. Write soon and let me know how you progress in your campaign. Clara is attending a German school, should we remain in Dusseldorf, you must manage to send Laura¹⁷ to us, for Music German and French. There can be no better or cheaper schools than those here. Our love to Cousin Mary and all the little ones with which she is so happily surrounded.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

¹⁶My father realized that the demands on his time as governor would cause neglect of his private affairs.

¹⁷My oldest sister. She married Irvine O. Hockaday, cashier of the Boone County National Bank of Columbia for many years. Laura and Clara Bingham were about the same age and girlhood friends. Clara named her first daughter Laura Rollins King.

[*Postscripts written in margins*]

P. S. As we have moved our residence direct your next letter to G. C. Bingham, Villa Nuova bei C. Langenberg by Prussian enclosed mail, Dusseldorf Prussia.

I cannot now determine with certainty when we will return home. If I paint the emigration of Boone we cannot be ready to return under 18 months, otherwise we may return in a year. Circumstances as they transpire will determine us.

Tell Bro James Thomas that we received his letter of the 5th of April, and that he and his wife must continue to write to us regularly, even if they should not always receive an answer immediately.

You will likely see Horace in the course of your stumping for Governor, stimulate him as much as you can, and tell him to write to us.

Behaltet lieb Eure Clara Lebt wohl Laura Mary Sallie und Alle.¹⁸

Dusseldorf Prussia Oct. 12, 1857

Major J. S. Rollins

My dr Sir

I have been anxiously expecting a letter from you by every post for the last six weeks giving us a detailed account of your great run over the political track this summer,¹⁹ but, sublinary like, my expectations up to this period have proved vain. Both myself and Eliza were long held in very painful suspense as to the result of the contest. The New York Tribune which comes to us regularly, at one time quite elated us by the confidence with which it announced your

¹⁸Keep on loving your Clara, Goodbye Laura, Mary, Sallie, and all. (A message to my sisters, Laura, Mary and Sallie, written by Clara Bingham.)

¹⁹When Trusten Polk resigned the governorship of Missouri to become United States senator, a special election for governor was held in August, 1857. To quote from Switzler's *History of Missouri* (page 248): "One of the most brilliant and notable gubernatorial canvasses ever made in the state occurred in 1857, between James S. Rollins, of Boone, Whig, and Robert M. Stewart of Buchanan, Democrat. Stewart was successful by a majority of only 334 votes." Rollins' friends claimed that he was fairly elected.

election,²⁰ but subsequent intelligence, to the effect that you fell *just a muzzle short* of the winning point, brought us down from our elevation to the "Slough of Despond," and we can only console ourselves by looking forward to a more auspicious future which I am inclined to think is dawning upon our country. Though not yet triumphant the public virtue of Missouri is evidently rallying and by the next trial will be able to place true merit, such as yours in the ascendent. It will then consult its own interest by availing itself of your services in whatever capacity you may see proper to tender them. But however assured of your success, should your your powers again be tried upon the same course, I trust you will be put in training, in conjunction with some other reliable nag, for the next great National race, in opposition to the present dynasty.

The self Styled *National Democratic* party, will soon have reached such an offensive stage of putridity, that the patriotic masses will be compelled to bury it deep in the ground, *and there burn its linnen*, in order to escape the pestilential effluvia which such rottenness must emit if permitted to remain in contact with the atmosphere.

Our president keeps up to the indications of his early life, as evinced in his intrigue against the great man whose presidency would have honored the nation but for that sneaking assault upon his reputation.²¹

²⁰The New York Tribune of August 10, 1857, announced the election of James S. Rollins. It printed the following: "The election is over, and the returns received insure the election of James S. Rollins for governor, by a majority of from 2000 to 3000 over R. M. Stewart, the nominee of the National Democracy. Is not this result outrageous? Against a Democratic majority of nearly 10,000 last Fall—against an opposing candidate of great personal popularity, backed up by the eloquence of Phelps, Polk, Green, and the lesser luminaries, who took the stump for Democracy, and proved, to their own satisfaction, that Rollins was the last fragment of the broken-up and dis-membered Know-Nothing party. . . ."

²¹During the presidential campaign of 1856 the Democrats accused Fremont of being secretly a Catholic, a hard drinker, a slave-holder and a reckless and unscrupulous speculator. And they spread widely the circumstances of his parentage. (Nevins, Allan, *Fremont, the West's Greatest Adventurer*, p. 499ff.)

His Kansas policy,²² however lauded by hirelings, is no improvement upon that of his predecessor, being equally directed to the subversion of justice, for the accomplishment of sectional party ends. I trust that the people of that Territory are now strong enough to fight themselves right, if not permitted to vote, and that they will no longer hesitate to adopt, if necessary, the last and most available resort against outrage and usurpation. But enough of this. I have made some studies for the portrait of Jefferson, but have not reached a final determination as to the attitude in which I will place him. I think, however, that I will arrive at a conclusion shortly, and set about the execution of the work in earnest. The portrait of Washington receives high praise from all who see it, and I intend to prove that our State is none the loser by employing its own painter. I am now finishing my "Jolly-flat-boatmen in Port," it is a large picture, containing 21 figures, I expect to send you a photograph of it sometime this fall. I have a thought of commencing, shortly, my contemplated large picture of the "emigration of Boone" 12 by 18 feet, and advancing it in conjunction with the portrait of Jefferson. I think this subject when completed to my mind, united with the two portraits for the State, will form a very popular exhibition in the Western States especially, and may thus amply repay me for the labor bestowed upon it. I have not yet abandoned my purpose of doing justice in the way of Art, to our *far famed* "border ruffians," and would like you to send me, enclosed in a letter, the most graphic account, extant of one of their most conspicuous forays. Perhaps the introduction to the report of the Kansas

²²Shortly after his inauguration (March 4, 1857), Buchanan appointed Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, a man of high character and outstanding ability, territorial governor of Kansas, and Frederick P. Stanton of Tennessee, secretary of the territory. Walker's policy of exact fairness and justice excited the hostility of the southern politicians, who wanted Kansas slave territory, and they and some of the leading southern newspapers denounced him in unmeasured terms. Buchanan had pledged Walker his heartiest support in straightening out the difficulties between the pro-slavery and free-soil groups and in setting up an honest government in Kansas, and for a time he fully sustained Walker. Then, because certain southern states threatened either to secede or to take up arms against him unless he abandoned Walker and Stanton, Buchanan went over to the pro-slavery group, and Walker resigned in disgust when Buchanan endorsed the Lecompton Constitution.

investigating committee²³ will furnish such a description as I desire. I have written to Horace, requesting him to come to us, in order that he may prosecute his studies here, and also acquire a knowledge of the German language. When last heard from him, he was with his uncle Dot. Hutchison, in Brooklyn, making preparations to embark, which he stated he would do on the fifth of this month, by the steam ship Ariel which runs between New York and Bremen. We may suppose therefore, that he is now on the Atlantic just recovering from sea sickness, and immersing from the fogs which shroud the banks of New-foundland.

If Jimmy were not at West Point²⁴ I should like him to be with Horace, as I doubt not they would mutually stimulate and assist each other. I think it likely, a more thorough education can be acquired here, with far less cost, including even the voyage, than is usually obtained at our colleges in the United States.

It is possible that we may, on Horaces account, remain yet two years longer in Germany, the only thing to prevent is the disire I feel to have the two portraits in their places

²³As a result of forays into Kansas by pro-slavery sympathizers (chiefly Missourians), who were trying to make Kansas a slave state, and the consequent conflicts between them and the free-sollers within the territory, Kansas was in a condition of lawlessness and crime bordering on civil war, and the subject of heated discussion in Congress.

On the 19th of March, 1856, the House of Representatives passed a resolution that a committee be appointed to investigate conditions in Kansas and report the evidence to the House. William A. Howard of Michigan and John Sherman of Ohio, Republicans, and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri, Democrat, were appointed the committee. (Rhodes, James Ford, *History of the United States Since the Compromise of 1850*, Vol. 2, p. 83.) Howard and Sherman presented the majority report and it portrays lurid pictures of bloodshed and violence. I do not know if my father sent Bingham the report, but, in any event, Bingham did not paint the picture.

²⁴My brother James was appointed to West Point by Congressman Gilchrist Porter in 1856. A cadet, when appointed, had to be between sixteen and twenty years old. My brother was not quite sixteen. So Porter wrote to Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, asking if young Rollins could enter the Military Academy though not quite of age. In reply, Porter received an official communication from Mr. Davis saying that under no circumstances could this be permitted. In the lower left-hand corner of the letter, in Mr. Davis' handwriting, he said, "It is all right; send the young man on." So my brother entered West Point a few months before he was the required age. With him there, as brother cadets, were George Armstrong Custer, killed at the battle of the Little Bighorn, and Hugh Judson Kilpatrick, mentioned by Sherman in his *Memoirs* as one of his most brilliant cavalry leaders on his march to the sea.



WATCHING THE CARGO (1849)



CANVASSING FOR A VOTE (BY 1851)



by the meeting of the next Legislature. I fear that they may not be altogether safe in other hands. As I do not stir from my den, my letters must be barren of news other than relates to myself, and that to you is rather a hacknied subject. My greatest inducement in writing, is to bring you under some kind of obligation to answer. Let it not be long before we hear from you.

Eliza and Clara join in love to Cousin Mary yourself and the little ones.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

[Postscript written in margin]

Please forward the enclosed letter to Kansas City.

Dusseldorf Prussia March 8. 1858

Major J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

Yours of last November had the fortune to reach us in due time, but that which you mentioned as having written previously, and also the one promised as a Christmas treat must have shared the fate of most of their predecessors. We have had the luck to receive but two letters from you since we have been in Europe, and you may well suppose that we place a high estimate upon these favors, which are precious both intrinsically and as rarities. We are all at present in usual health and pursuing the regular routine of a somewhat monotonous life. Eliza's attention is absorbed in household affairs, Clara and Horace are engaged at school, while I am as closely confined to my studio as ever. I have the portrait of Jefferson now pretty well advanced, and expect to complete it about the first of April. The attitude in which I have placed him, though erect, is quite different from that given to the portrait of Washington. He stands in a legislative hall with a roll of paper in his left, and a pen in his right hand, and with one foot elevated upon a step of the small platform

immediately in front of the speakers desk. His well known personal singularity in regard to costume has given me some little advantage in aid of the picturesque. In conversation with his old and intimate friend Gov. Coles, I learned that when he did not wear the scarlet vest he sometimes draped himself in a long light reddish brown frock coat reaching almost to his ankles, and instead of the then common shoe with the silver buckle he wore an invention of his own which he styled the *Jefferson* shoe, and which resembled very closely the present gaiters worn by ladies.

His object in using so much red in his apparal appears to have been to counteract the effect of a similar hue in his hair. Availing myself of these facts of dress, I am enabled to make his portrait, in some respects, a complete contrast to that of Washington and to avoid the repetition in it of any thing contained in the latter. I intend it to quite equal the Washington as a work of Art, and will also be disappointed if both shall not be found to surpass any similar representations of the same personages in any of the states of the Union. I have come to the conclusion to forward them to their intended destination during the approaching summer, and think it perhaps best to have frames made for them here, and forwarded with them, so that they may be put up in their respective places as soon as they reach Jefferson City. By having the frames made here they will cost considerably less, duties and all other charges included, than if made in the United States. I can also give them my personal superintendence and see that they are made of proper material and in every particular adapted to the pictures. If made in this city, they will cost by the time they arrive at Jefferson from one hundred and ten to one hundred twenty dollars each. Such large frames are so constructed that they can be taken to peices, packed up in a box and then again screwed together at the corners when ready to receive the pictures. I have also a *selfish* motive for having the frames made here in the fact that they will enable me to exhibit the portraits to advantage in the permanent exhibiting gallery of Dusseldorf.

It may be that the commissioner of public buildings at Jefferson has a small contingent fund at his disposal, out of

which he can pay for the frames without waiting for an appropriation from the Legislature. You gave me his address when I left you, but I am not able to find it now, please enclose it to me in your next letter, as I suppose the pictures should be directed to his charge. You can also inform me perhaps as to whose care in St. Louis they had best be directed. In regard to the matter of frames as stated above I will await your advice.

I am so closely confined that I see but very few of the peculiarities of German life. In Dusseldorf there is a largely preponderating Catholic population, and we are favored annually, during the month of February, with the carnival festival [though?] upon a rather diminutive scale as compared with what it is as witnessed in Rome. During its continuance mask-balls mask processions and every conceivable species of tom-foolery become respectable for the time being. Although I am becoming rather old to relish such sport, I accompanied Eliza and Clara to one of the balls. As custom required me to attend in mask, I sent Horace out to purchase one for me which should be endowed with a Roman nose. In regard to this *prominent* item he sufficiently conformed to my instructions, but unfortunately did not exercise sufficient care in procuring other features in harmony with the prescribed nasal organ. The consequence was that the medley which usurped the place of my naturally grave visage was about thus,²⁶ such a phiz, as you must perceive, fully makes up in amiability what it lacks in beauty, and by its good natured winning expression drew towards me the most flattering attentions wherever I carried it. Indeed I never before so fully experienced the great advantage of possessing a pleasant countenance, while I wore it, every person with whom I came in contact took me cordially by the hand and seemed to recognise an old and familiar acquaintance, and I could not but feel somewhat mortified when, upon throwing it off, I found myself unnoticed and unknown.

This festival of the Carnival is but one of many in which the Germans indulge during the course of the year. It appears

²⁶In the original letter a small sketch of a devil's mask appears here.

to be the policy both of church and state to encourage as much as possible whatever may be calculated to divert the minds of the people from the *serious* matter of politics. But in the event that these gentle and seductive appliances should not suffice, a far more effective auxiliary, in the shape of a standing army of 400,000 men, is kept ready to be called out to suppress any demonstration threatening the established order of things. This immense force is levied from the immediate generation of youngsters as they reach that period of physical development which is generally marked by the appearance of down upon the upper lip.

Each able bodied young man, prince nobles and all, must give from one to three years service to the State as soldiers. An army the ranks of which is thus supplied from the great body of the people, might be supposed likely to sympathise with any effort tending to popular freedom, but strick discipline and the gaudy trappings of the kings uniform is found sufficient to transfer them into the willing instruments of the authority above them. Their officers are all from the ranks of the nobility.

Since Horace has gotten fairly started he appears to be advancing quite rapidly in the German language. Clara already speaks it fluently, and is also progressing with her French. She is moreover becoming a great adept in every style of ornamental needle work, embroidery tapestry &c. She has just completed, as a present for you, a splendid bell handle intended for your new parlor. It is richly worked in beads.²⁸

If you can manage to get Laura a safe conduct to us, a year or 18 months in Dusseldorf would be of great service to her. The very best teachers in every female accomplish-

²⁸I remember this bell cord distinctly. It was about eight feet long and eight inches wide and really a work of art. It was connected with a wire attached to a bell on the outside of the house nearest the servants' quarters. I recall my mother often pulling the bell cord to summon her maid Harriet. Harriet and my father's coachman, Hamilton Harney, wanted to set up house-keeping together. My mother was determined they should have a religious ceremony, contrary to the custom of those times with slaves, who generally just "took up" with each other. So she had the Reverend Thomas M. Allen, minister of the Christian Church, perform the marriage ceremony in our dining room, my mother giving her maid away.

ment are to be obtained here on the most reasonable terms. Eliza could give her the use of an excellent piano. I think it decidedly best for us to remain in Germany about 18 months longer. by the expiration of that period Clara and Horace will be qualified to take good care of themselves in the event that I should be deprived of the power of rendering them further service. In order to remain this length of time, I will likely require the use of about \$1500.00 of the sum which will be due me for the large portraits. Perhaps the Legislature if in a good humor, may be induced, when these are seen in their places, to give me an order for a full length of Gen Jackson, on the back of which, one for Clay will not come amiss. I will take into consideration your advice in regard to lectures on Art in conjunction with an exhibition. Please remember us to Dr Jas Thomas and family. Eliza intends writing to him soon, and would have done so sometime since, had she not felt very unwell during the earlier part of the winter. Our love to Cousin Mary and the children.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

Dusseldorf July 18 1858

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dr Sir

Yours of June 15 reached us a few days since and though long delayed was none the less welcome. As I knew nothing of the nature of your engagements, or your absence from Columbia, I had almost despaired of an answer to my letter of March. I did not expect to receive any advance upon the portraits as you seem to suppose in your letters, but as I am not bound by the contract to furnish frames, I desired to know if the Commissioner of the Permanent Seat of Government had a fund which he could use at his discretion, to pay for the frames, in the event that I should deem it best to purchase them here and forward them with the portraits.

But whether he has such a fund or not, I have already taken the risk upon myself and ordered the frames. They will be completed early in September, and cost, with the packing ready for transportation, \$71.00 each—about half the sum they would cost in St Louis. Freight and duties added will still leave the cost considerably less than if purchased in the U. S. and there will be no vexatious delay, such as from past experience, I might anticipate if they were ordered in St Louis.

As soon as the frames are finished I will have the pictures forwarded to their destination, most probably by way of New Orleans. I will also endeavor to have them insured *here* so as to cover the entire risk of transportation to Jefferson City. It will be very important to have the portraits suspended so as to receive the light properly. Also in unrolling them and placing them again upon the stretching frames, a little carelessness or ignorance may do them serious injury. And again, in order that they may have their full effect, they should be varnished. Taking these things into consideration, and the importance, to me, of having them properly attended to, I have come to the conclusion that the surest plan I can adopt, is to embark for the U. S. in time to reach Jefferson City as early as the pictures, so that I can attend to these matters myself. Eliza concurs with me in this view, and is willing to remain here with Clara and Horace until I can return. My entire expenses to Jefferson City, and back to Dusseldorf will not be more than \$250.00 and I regard the dangers of the Ocean much less than those of inland travel in the U. S. It will be greatly to the interest of Clara and Horace to have the benefit of their schools here a year longer, otherwise we might all return home this fall. If my presence in Jefferson City this coming winter would be likely to increase the chances of obtaining a commission for portraits of Jackson and Clay I might be induced to remain there during the Session of the Legislature. Otherwise I would return immediately to Europe, or take my best pictures with me to Washington City and enter the list of competitors for an order for a national picture. Leutze expects to leave here for the U. S. with *such an object in view* during the approaching fall. He

has for some time been an applicant and the encouragement he has received from individuals most likely to control these Art affairs of the Capitol, renders his chance, at present, much better than mine.

The joint committee on the Library of the Capitol is authorized by a recent law to expend \$20,000. for the purchase of works of Art. Senator Pierce²⁷ of Maryland is at the head of this Committee, and from *him* Leutze has been *indirectly* assured through some of his own personal friends near the seat of Government, that he will be honored with a \$10,000 commission as soon as the treasury shall recover from its present state of depletion.²⁸ I receive the information through an intimate acquaintance of Leutze, who gives it to me without being questioned, not dreaming that I am indulging similar aspirations. As there is yet no work of Art in the Capitol, properly illustrative of the history of the West, it seems to me that a western artist with a western subject should receive especial consideration from this Committee, and also from Congress in the first appropriations which may hereafter be made for such works.

I would be very willing to undertake such a commission upon terms similar to (price excepted) those which you obtained for me from the legislature in regard to the pictures I have just completed. I would be willing to present to a committee authorized to contract for such a work, a small and complete study for the emigration of Boone, or any other subject of equal interest, for their approval. and if they should approve it, contract to finish it upon a large scale, to be again subject to their approval before receiving pay for the picture. I think this is the plan which in all cases should really be pursued, and that any artist who has not

²⁷James Alfred Pearce (1804-1862).

²⁸"This was due to the panic of 1857, caused chiefly by the expenditure of \$70,000,000 on railroads in ten years. The panic began in August, 1857, and in October all the banks in the country suspended specie payment. The annual revenue of the federal government dropped from \$76,000,000 to \$46,000,000; and it was forced to issue treasury notes for its expenses. By 1860 business was again normal." (Hart, Albert Bushnell, *Essentials in American History*, p. 393.)

sufficient confidence in his own powers to undertake a commission upon such conditions, should not be employed. If you like what I here suggest, and can bring any influence to bear upon Senator Pearce's Committee or upon Congress, it is not necessary for me to ask you to do it. I will not permit Leutze or any person out of my own family to know any thing of my aims in this matter, or my intended visit to the U. S.

We are all in usual health. Eliza, who suffered much illness during last winter and fall, has vastly improved under the treatment of Doct. Fischer of Cologne, to whom²⁹ She regrets much that Mr. H[unton]³⁰ declined to comply with your wishes in regard to Laura, as she would be delighted to have her with us. You must have her prepared, however, to return with me.

It is possible that Eliza's sister Mary³¹ will also return with me, remember us to Bro James Thomas and wife and the relatives in Columbia, our love to Cousin Mary and all the children.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

²⁹Parts of this passage are illegible, as the edges of the MS. are badly frayed.

³⁰Judge Logan Hunton (1806-1880), distinguished lawyer of St. Louis and New Orleans, lifelong friend of my father. Appointed U. S. District Attorney of Louisiana by Zachary Taylor in 1849. I have the certificate of his appointment. Judge Hunton's maternal grandfather, John Bell, built and lived in the first brick house in Louisville, Kentucky. Judge Hunton, who was my wife's grandfather, married Mary Jane Moss, sister of Elizabeth Moss who later became the famous Mrs. John J. Crittenden. There is a family story that Mrs. Crittenden, who was thrice married, remarked on one of her visits to her sister, Mrs. Logan Hunton, that she had married once for love, once for wealth, and once for social position. Mrs. Hunton then asked her which she found most satisfactory. To which question Mrs. Crittenden replied, "My life would have been incomplete without all three." An interesting fact is that Mrs. Crittenden's first husband, Daniel Pinchbeck Wilcox, is buried in what was then the Dr. James W. Moss family cemetery in Boone county; her second husband, General William H. Ashley, in Cooper county, on an Indian mound overlooking the Missouri river; her third husband in Frankfort, Kentucky; while she is buried in Bellefontaine cemetery in St. Louis.

³¹Mary Thomas, married James Piper, Kansas City business man. She was a beautiful woman, and Mr. Bingham's portrait of her is pronounced one of his finest. This portrait is now in the Nelson Art Gallery in Kansas City, loaned by W. E. Thomas, an uncle of Mrs. Piper.

[*Postscripts written in margins*]

Please forward the enclosed letter to Mr Thomas.

⁸².....We have not been extravagant and have yet sufficient funds to meet our ordinary expenditures for nearly or quite a year to come.

Let me hear from you very soon.

Jefferson City Jan 23, 1859

Maj J. S. Rollins

My Dear Sir

I have just received yours of yesterday and am happy to learn that you are all well, and that you have also a letter from Eliza of the 12th December, I did not leave Dusseldorf as early as I intended and having been delayed by our tedious passage across the Atlantic I reached this City a month behind my expectations. I have just opened the box containing the pictures and frames. The portraits are in good condition so far as I can judge, as they are rolled, but the frame for Washington has been so much damaged by bad handling, that I am compelled to send it to St Louis to be repaired, this will cause a delay of 2 weeks in putting it up in its place. I will make enquiry to day as to whether the House will give me the use of the Hall tomorrow afternoon, so that the portrait of Jefferson may be suspended in its place. I do not doubt but my wishes in the matter will be complied with, and if so I will put up the portrait, and then go over and remain with you until the frame for the Washington shall be repaired. I am much gratified by the cordiality with which I have been greeted since my return and am consequently cheered by the hope, that my devotion to Art for so many years may at length receive its reward, As I hope to see you

⁸²Parts of this passage are illegible, as the edges of the Ms. are badly frayed.

in a few days, and have a *long talk* with you, it is unnecessary to write more at present. My love to all

Yours

G. C. Bingham

Addressed: Maj J. S. Rollins
Columbia
Mo.

St Louis Feb. 19 1859

Maj. J. S. Rollins

My dr Sir

Having a little business here I came down on the cars yesterday.

I called on Messrs Blow²³ & Campbell in regard to the certificate for the auditor, They both contend that the frames should be included, and that such was their understanding with *me personally* before they signed the contract. In this they are both utterly mistaken, but they have the advantage in being two against one. I will lose the price of the frames rather than have my honor or veracity questioned.

I feel highly honored by the action of the Legislature upon the reception of the pictures, and in authorizing me, as you have by this time learned, to paint the additional portraits of Jackson & Clay. The bill, for these last works, employs me directly, without the intervention of a Committee.

I will return to Jefferson tomorrow.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

P. S. Mr Blow says he will be in Jefferson by the last of next week. Mr Campbell will authorize him (Blow) to act in his stead in regard to the certificate.

G. C. B.

²³Henry Taylor Blow (1817-1875), capitalist, diplomat, congressman. With Blair, Brown, and others of similar views he helped to organize the Republican party in Missouri. He was appointed minister to Venezuela in 1861 and minister to Brazil in 1869. (*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. II, pp. 391-392.)

Jefferson City Feb. 21. 1859

Maj. J. S. Rollins

My dr Sir

I addressed you a few lines from St Louis day before yesterday, giving you an account of my interview with Blow and Campbell.

They both refuse to be governed by the letter of the law and contract, and insist upon a verbal understanding with me, in regard to the frames, outside of the record. Without desiring to impeach their veracity I am ready to affirm under all circumstances that such an understanding has no foundation except in their own imaginations.

I showed Blow your certificate, he declared that he would never put his name to it, but that he would visit Jefferson the last of this week, and if he could approve the pictures, would give a certificate affirming in it his alleged understanding in regard to the frames, when he hands me such a certificate I will either throw it in his face, or write under it, *in his presence*, a flat denial of its truth.

I am inclined to believe that the vanity of the little gentleman has been somewhat wounded by my passing through St Louis without calling upon him, and by the subsequent Legislative endorsement of the pictures, before he had passed upon them.

As the bill for the pictures as it was finally passed was drawn up by you, I wish you to write me a letter stating its meaning, as not intended to embrace frames, and also your subsequent statements to me in regard to the latter.

Such a statement from you will be sufficient to sustain me against any efforts which Blow or others may make to prejudice my interest.

If it shall become necessary there will be no difficulty in obtaining the passage of a bill authorizing the auditor²⁴ to settle with me without a certificate from the Committee.

²⁴William H. Buffington of Cole county.

I have just received your favor of the 16th and thank you much for the steps you have taken to further my interest at Washington City.

My love to Cousin Mary and the Children.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

Jefferson City Feb. 25 1859

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

As you mentioned in your letter that you would visit this City early next week, I would like you to do me the favor to call at the house of Doct Thomas and obtain a roll of Canvass &c which I deposited in the room over-head when I left. Please have the roll placed in a long square box, and bring it with you if you can do so conveniently, otherwise send it by the stage or other safe conveyance.

The roll contains a portrait of Martha Washington which with the head of George Washington, I have presented to the Mercantile Library of St Louis.³⁵

Mitchell of St Louis is here and made a speech last night, upon the subject of Rail-roads as prosecuted in this State. He spoke in the Hall of the House of Representatives to a large and attentive audience, and though he referred to no facts other than those contained in the report of the Board of Public Works, he presented those in such a manner as to produce an impression decidedly unfavorable to the mode in which the internal improvements of the State have been heretofore conducted. Louis V. Bogy³⁶ followed in reply, but left the main points of his adversary as he found them. My love to all. I hope to see you soon.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

³⁵These pictures now hang, in a very poor light, in the Mercantile Library in St. Louis. They should be in the City Art Museum, a fireproof building, where other Bingham pictures now hang.

³⁶Lewis Vital Bogy (1813-1877), member of the State House of Representatives for many years. He was one of the projectors of the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railway, and acting president of the company for two years. A United States senator from Missouri, 1873-1877. (*Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, p. 714.)

Jefferson City March 1. 1859

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dr Sir

Yours of last week did not reach me until yesterday evening, I regret to learn that you are still somewhat indisposed.

Blow did not come up last week as he promised, or *rather threatened*. McCartie passed down on Sunday, saw the portrait and signed your certificate, says it was not his understanding that I was to furnish frames.

Buffington saw the contract yesterday, and told me that your name with McCarties and Blairs would be sufficient, so that all will be right as soon as you can come over. I wrote to you a few days since, requesting you to call at Doct Thomas's and get a small roll of canvass which I left with him, and have it boxed up and either bring it with you or send it by some safe conveyance, the roll contains a portrait of Martha Washington, which I have presented to the Mercantile Library Association of St Louis, I therefore wish it handled with care, and not opened.

I am confident from the developments that met me at St Louis, that Rannels Blow & Co. would have given the commission for the portraits to some eastern daub, had you not overpowered them by the House portion of the Committee. The tenacity of purpose which they manifested to compel me, if possible to yield the frames with the pictures, evinced a spirit from which I could neither have expected favor or justice.

We are looking for you and Guitar³⁷ daily until you arrive. My love to all.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

³⁷Odon Guitar (1825-1908), class of 1846 University of Missouri. He went with Doniphan on his expedition to Mexico, and later to California in the gold rush of '49. He became a brigadier general in the Civil war. Able lawyer. Married Kate, daughter of Judge Abel Leonard.

Jefferson City March 13. 59

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dr Sir

Yours of Friday came to hand yesterday, and last night I received by Mr Baker³⁸ the package containing the portrait of Martha Washington. I regret to learn that Cousin Mary has been so painfully indisposed. I expect to be detained here until thursday or Friday next, and if you will make it convenient to come over by that time I will return to Columbia with you. A bill has passed both Houses appropriating \$320 to pay for the portrait frames. I supposed that sum would about cover cost and charges. Please send me, or bring with you, a statement of the charges which you paid to the House in New York.³⁹

When this bill for the frames came up for final action in the House (it had previously passed the Senate) the low estimate which I had been induced to place upon Blow was fully verified. His representative (Bowlin) arose and stated that he had been requested, by a member of the contracting committee residing in St Louis, to caution the House against any attempt to pass such a bill, as the appropriation for the pictures was intended to cover the frames also. I was gratified to discover that I had *troops* of friends in every quarter of the House, and after a brief statement from Guitar and Hardin,⁴⁰ of Calaway, the bill was passed almost by acclamation.

After the many marks of respect and kind consideration which have been extended to me by the Legislature since my return, I deemed it proper to express in a becoming manner my grateful appreciation of such distinguishing favor, and I presented to the House of Representatives, on yesterday,

³⁸J. Fletcher Baker, a citizen of Columbia.

³⁹The pictures were held for duty at the United States Customs in New York City. After considerable correspondence with the customs officials because of the exorbitant duty charge, my father went to New York and, under some regulation regarding works of art, the charges were reduced.

⁴⁰Charles Henry Hardin (1820-1892), lawyer, governor of Missouri, 1874-1878. He founded and endowed Hardin College at Mexico, Missouri, in 1873. This college is no longer in existence. Hardin is buried in the Jewell cemetery near Columbia, Missouri.

the portrait of Washington which had been wrought with the needle by Clara. I had it framed in Philadelphia, in a chaste and beautiful manner, and it now hangs just above the chair of the Speaker, a position to which it is admirably adapted. You must come over to Jefferson, if only to see this picture. it will greatly astonish you.

I am very buisy finishing portraits, and expect to complete all by next Friday.

Unless it shall interfere too much with your buisness engagements, be certain to come over on Wednesday or thursday.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

Columbia March 21. 1859

Maj J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

I reached your homestead on Saturday night, but, as you must be aware, did not have the good luck to find other than the better half of yourself at home. This was highly satisfactory, still I should have been much pleased to have met all. I start for Kansas City to day, as I am anxious to see Mr Thomas' family as soon as possible.

I have left eight hundred dollars to your credit with Mr Prewitt. I did not know the precise amount of my indebtedness to you principal and interest, and as Alfred Morrison⁴¹ was not at home when I left Jefferson I could not settle with him for the expenses paid by him, for the transportation of the portraits and frames from New York. As I understand you will likely go down to St Louis shortly, I trust you will find it convenient to stop at Jefferson, see the pictures, and settle this account of mine with our friend Morrison.

If the ballance remaining of the \$800 shall not be sufficient to cover my indebtedness to you, I will make all right

⁴¹Alfred Morrison (1800?-1883), state treasurer, 1851-1861¹. He was appointed to fill out the unexpired term of Peter G. Glover and was elected to the office for three successive terms. In 1861 he resigned rather than take the oath of loyalty.

when I come down, which I trust will be by the 20th of April or the 1st of May at farthest. I have promised to paint some portraits above, which will likely detain me until that time.

You have heard of the high compliment which has been paid to Clara by the House of Representatives. The Committee appointed by the Speaker to procure for her the Testimonial to be presented to her in the name of the State, is composed of Gentlemen with whom I have a personal acquaintance and who will doubtless be ready to provide a gift in every way appropriate. They are W. P. Darnes of Scott. C. H. Hardin of Callaway Doct. T. Maguire of Parkville Platte co. B. H. Jones of Palmyra, and J. W. Owens of Washington Franklin co. I have just written to Darnes upon the subject, as the passage of the resolution just upon the adjournment and dispersion of the Legislature, left no time for consultation.

I suggested to him a *ladies work box* to be made to order in Paris, and containing apartments for writing drawing and sewing implements, as perhaps best adapted to the end in view. Such an article could be manufactured in Paris worth from five to five hundred dollars or even more if required. It might have elegantly engraved upon it the Arms of our State, the names of the Governor, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, The Resolution introduced by Darnes and unanimously adopted by the House, and the names of the members of the Committee appointed to procure the *Testimonial*. I informed Darnes, in my letter, that it was improper for me to suggest any sum to be appropriated to the purpose, but requested him to confer with *you* upon the subject.

It is likely that you are acquainted with the entire Committee, and may be able to favor Clara very much, by making suggestions to the members, and giving the matter such a direction as will be most honorable to the parties concerned and especially to Clara.

I informed our friend Darnes, that if, by the time I embarked for Europe, his Committee should agree upon any specific sum to be expended in the accomplishment of the object, and would fill out an order therefor to be given to some establishment in Paris, names left blank to be filled by

myself when I should ascertain the persons best qualified to execute the commission, that I would see that the work, when completed, should accord as fully as possible with whatever sum the liberality of his committee might designate as proper to be expended upon it. I expect to be compelled to spend some time in Paris during the Summer.

I hope to be able to return to the United States with Eliza and Clara in the month of October next. By the time of the adjourned session of the Legislature, the *Testimonial* might be completed and placed in possession of the committee, and presented to Clara in Person, as she and her Ma might pass through Jefferson City. I have had a conversation with Cousin Mary in regard to Lauras trip with me to Europe. As we shall visit London Paris Switzerland and Italy during the coming summer I do not think she could possibly spend the time more profitably than by going with us. Eliza and Clara will be delighted to have her company, and if she chooses, she can continue, under Eliza, the studies in which she is now engaged, consider the matter, and I hope you will view it in the light that I do.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

St Louis May 8 1859

Maj. J. S. Rollins

My dear Sir

I regret very much that I could not see you in Columbia, but you are fully informed of the afflicting circumstances which impel me to hasten to Eliza with all possible speed. I leave St Louis to day, will pass through Washington City and expect to embark from New York by the latter part of the week. I have here received a commission in accordance with your favorable anticipation, to paint the portrait of the

Baron Humboldt⁴² for the St Louis Mer. Lib. association. it is to be a full length. I shall obtain such letters from the functionaries in Washington as will most likely secure me the necessary access to the Baron. While at Brunswick, in compliance with your suggestion, I addressed Doct Maguire of Parksville in regard to the present for Clara, and requested an answer addressed to your care in Columbia. When you receive it, open it, and avail yourself of its contents. As early as you may be informed of the agreement of the Committee in regard to the matter, you may give me such directions as their concurrence may warrant.

Immediately upon receipt of this, if you drop me a line to the care of Goupil & co. 366 Broadway New York I will perhaps receive it before I embark, if not, it would be forwarded by the next Steamer. It would perhaps be best for you to put the required stamps upon letters you may address to me in Dusseldorf, and enclose them to Goupil & Co, with a request to mail them. I never failed, while abroad before, to receive letters or papers from New York.

⁴²Baron Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), German naturalist, statesman and traveller. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says of him that in 1808 he was, with the exception of Napoleon Bonaparte, the most famous man in Europe. Bingham's portrait of von Humboldt, with other Bingham paintings, hung for many years in the Mercantile Library. I was deeply interested in safeguarding these pictures against fire, which seems to have pursued Bingham with peculiar persistence. When the main building of the University of Missouri burned in 1892, eleven portraits by Bingham, including those of the presidents of the institution up to that time, were destroyed. (Portraits of John H. Lathrop, Wm. W. Hudson, James Shannon, Daniel Read, S. S. Laws, A. W. Rollins, Jas. S. Rollins, Robt. L. Todd, Robt. B. Todd, Edward Bates, and F. P. Blair, Jr.) And again, when the old capitol building at Jefferson City burned in 1911, seven portraits by Bingham were consumed. (See: *Review*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Oct., 1937, p. 10, note.) As historic treasures, these pictures can never be replaced. With this in mind, I wrote letters to the Mercantile Library authorities urging that the Bingham paintings in the Mercantile Library be placed in a fireproof building—the capitol at Jefferson City or the City Art Museum of St. Louis. As a result, the election series and Jolly Flat Boatmen were removed to the City Art Museum, and the portrait of Frank P. Blair was taken to the Jefferson Memorial in Forest Park. The portrait of von Humboldt had fallen from its hangings and was injured beyond repair.

In painting his group pictures, Bingham made sketches of each individual figure before grouping them. These sketches are bound in a single large volume known as "The Bingham Sketch Book," which is now in the Mercantile Library. I regard this sketch book as valuable as any one of Bingham's paintings and it should be equally safeguarded.

Upon my arrival in this City I received a letter from Eliza dated April 7. She was in fine health and spirits. God grant that recent calamities may be so mitigated as not to crush her again beneath their overwhelming weight. Josiah Lamme⁴³ told me that he had made up his mind to travel with us this summer. Should he receive such favorable reports from Mr Thomas and Mrs Moore as will justify us in remaining abroad during the summer, he can join us in Dusseldorf, and we will be delighted to have his society.

I leave St Louis to day at 2 o'clock, farewell, God help you, and every member of your dear family.

Yours

G. C. Bingham

(To be continued)

⁴³A half-brother of my mother. An amiable, visionary man who, lured by the tales of the golden west, left Boone county in 1865 with a capital of \$40,000, and, after two years of arduous labor in Montana, returned to Columbia in 1867 with two small, black bears, which represented the remnant of his fortune.

MISSOURIANA

Red-Letter Books Relating to Missouri
Missouri in National Statuary Hall
Reprints of the St. Louis Missouri Gazette
Topics in Missouri History
Do You Know, Or Don't You?
Advertisements in the Pioneer Press

RED-LETTER BOOKS RELATING TO MISSOURI

Noxious, Beneficial and Other Insects of the State of Missouri. By Charles Valentine Riley. 9 vols. (Published as Volumes 1 to 9 of the Annual Report of the Missouri State Entomologist, Jefferson City, 1869-1877. 8 vo.) These Reports, popularly known as the Nine Reports or the Missouri Reports, were prepared by the first state entomologist of Missouri, and constitute the most valuable historical works which the economic entomologist of Missouri may read. Not only are Missouri entomologists interested in obtaining copies of these Reports, but it is safe to say that they are the most sought after entomological books in the United States. As the supply of the Reports diminishes, entomologists just entering upon their work find it difficult to purchase them. Entomologists are not alone in their interest in the Reports, for agriculturalists have found them extraordinarily useful and laymen have read them with keen pleasure and profit. These Reports still serve as models for field work in entomological investigation, and the findings published in them became the basis for the development of economic entomology in the United States.

Missouri was among the pioneer states west of the Mississippi river in encouraging scientific agriculture. On December 1, 1863, the State legislature passed an act creating a state board of agriculture, and on March 21, 1868, a concurrent resolution authorized the state board of agriculture to nominate and commission a state entomologist whose duty would be to study insects injurious or beneficial to farmers and fruit growers.

Upon the recommendation of Benjamin D. Walsh, state entomologist of Illinois, and Norman J. Colman, editor of *Colman's Rural World*, Charles Valentine Riley was brought to the attention of the state board of agriculture and was subsequently appointed by the Governor of the State as the first state entomologist of Missouri. Riley entered upon his duties on April 1, 1868, and completed his first report to the state board of agriculture eight months afterward. Riley continued as State entomologist until 1877 and published nine annual reports during that time.

Each Report of the state entomologist was published as a part of the annual report of the state board of agriculture, and also about 300 separate copies of each Report were published by Riley himself. The Reports which Riley had printed for his own use were separately paginated and often were distributed before the report of the state board of agriculture was off the press. In this way, Riley was able to reach people outside of Missouri and to supply information for use in the State before the cumbersome agricultural report was available. In 1881, Riley prepared a general index and supplement to the Nine Reports which was published as *Bulletin No. 6* of the United States Entomological Commission (Washington, 1881). In the introduction to the index, he wrote, referring to incorporation of the entomology report with that of the board of agriculture:

That method of publication was always regretted by myself and by many others, inasmuch as the reports of the Board were generally volumes of such bulk as to delay publication and render mailing expensive. By virtue of the fact that they were distributed only to members of the State legislature and to State Societies, access to them by persons outside the State of Missouri was extremely difficult; while the State printing and press-work were, as a rule, of a very unsatisfactory character. To avoid some of these difficulties it was my habit to have about 300 separate copies of the entomological portion printed on better paper at my own expense, for distribution to correspondents both at home and abroad, and it is through these, principally, that the Reports have been accessible outside the State.

In accordance with legislative provision, 6,000 copies of the report of the state board of agriculture were printed each year from 1868 to 1874. Then a law of 1875 increased the

number to 14,000, with 2,000 copies of that number to be translated into German. In 1872, the German-speaking population of the State had been recognized by a law providing for 4,000 copies of a condensed report of the state board of agriculture to be printed in German, and a law of 1874 provided for 6,000 condensed copies of the annual report for that year to be printed in German. For the condensed agricultural report of 1872, Riley arranged a brief entomological paper which contained fragments of his earlier Reports, the 3rd, 4th, and 6th particularly. The 7th and 8th Reports seem to have been completely reproduced in German, and the greater portion of the 9th Report was also translated into German.

It has not been possible to determine the number or location of copies of the Reports still in existence. As early as 1877, the author of a biographical sketch of Riley appearing in Barns' *Commonwealth of Missouri* said that orders for sets of the Reports could no longer be supplied. It was said that requests came from Australia, New Zealand, South America, and Europe. Riley provided many of the copies which went abroad. At the present time, complete sets of the Nine Reports are quoted by book dealers at \$15 and \$20, although higher prices have been reported by private individuals.

When Charles Valentine Riley (September 18, 1843—September 14, 1895)¹ was appointed to the position of state entomologist in Missouri, he had already attracted notice in the middle west because of his investigations of the Colorado potato beetle. An Englishman, educated in French and German schools and particularly trained in drawing and natural history, Riley had come to the United States when he was seventeen years of age. From his experience on a farm near Chicago, he began to write for *The Prairie Farmer*

¹More detailed information on the life of Riley may be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and in numerous scientific publications. Two of his contemporaries (L. O. Howard and Hubert Osborn) discuss his work fully, and other entomologists also describe his life and work. Readers of the *Review* will perhaps recall that a sketch of Riley and his work, by Floyd G. Summers, was published some years ago in the *Review* under the title, "Charles V. Riley, Benefactor of Agriculture." (See: Vol. 19, No. 4, July, 1925, pp. 611-621.)

and served as reporter, artist, and finally editor of the entomological department of that publication. Between 1863 and 1865, he had contributed twenty-five articles to the paper. While employed in Missouri from 1868 to 1877, Riley won national and international recognition. He left Missouri to become chief of the United States Entomological Commission for investigation of the Rocky Mountain locust. In June, 1878, he became Entomologist of the United States Department of Agriculture. He resigned in March, 1879, but was reinstated two years later and continued in that position until he resigned in May, 1894, after which he gave his attention to the insect collection of the National Museum, where for some time he had been Honorary Curator of the Department of Insects.

Riley has been credited with contributions to entomological science too numerous to list here. Among the most important of these contributions may be mentioned the Missouri Reports, his advocacy of national investigation and control of insect plagues, initial establishment of the Division of Entomology in the United States Department of Agriculture, investigation of the Grape *Phylloxera*, invention of the Cyclonear Nozzle, discovery of kerosene emulsion, and the introduction of the Australian ladybird beetle (*Novius cardinalis*) to control the white scale in the citrus fruit industry of California. Osborn says that Riley deserves more credit than anyone else for convincing the public that state and federal appropriations should be made for insect control.

Possessed of untiring zeal for the promotion of economic entomology, Riley published the results of his investigations and of those associated with him. Over 2,000 papers bear his name. In some he collaborated with B. D. Walsh and in others with L. O. Howard. He was responsible for the first Federal action which recognized the national importance of economic entomology and his activities influenced state legislation also. Riley promoted the formation of entomological societies and was either an honorary or active member of all the American entomological societies and of several European societies. He was honored twice by the French government and possessed two honorary degrees, A. M. and

Ph. D., conferred respectively by the Kansas State Agricultural College and the University of Missouri. In 1868, Riley was made lecturer on entomology in the University of Missouri, and the entire student body was given the opportunity to attend his lectures. When the Agricultural and Mechanical College was established he continued to be a member of the University faculty as lecturer on entomology in the agricultural college from 1871 to 1875. His skill as a scientist and artist, his administrative ability, and his facility in making friends for his cause helped to make Riley one of the most eminent entomologists in the United States and the world.

The nine Missouri Reports contain the results of original research upon the insects peculiar to the middle west and particularly to Missouri. This research represents pioneer work in the field, for entomological literature was not extensive at that time, little was known of the entomological problems of western agriculturalists, and the economic side of entomology had not received attention to any great extent. Riley was employed by the State at a salary of \$2,500, later raised to \$3,000, with no assistants or equipment provided. He carried on his experiments at his own expense, furnished his office, files, etc., and, most important of all, illustrated the Reports with drawings which he made himself. During his first two years in Missouri, he had spent \$1,180 for assistance, illustrations, and incidental expenses, besides what he spent for office furniture. His expenses must have been increased by his quite modern habit of circulating questionnaires to those from whom he desired information. His traveling expenses were not excessive at first because several railroads gave him passes until their regulations were changed about 1874. In 1875-76 his traveling expenses were \$329.59.

The illustrations which Riley made gave his Reports especial distinction. The illustrations were better than any published before and were received enthusiastically in the entomological and agricultural world. Riley was an adept in black-board drawing and was an expert entomological draftsman. Howard found from memoranda of Riley, that the cost of 296 figures in the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Reports

was \$3,738 or \$12.50 per figure. This included the complete cost of the woodcut, engraving, and electrotyping. Riley said that he prepared two lithographic plates with some colored figures for the 1st Report but used them for only half the edition because of the expense. Thereafter, he used woodcuts. If, at any time, Riley had not drawn the figures, he was careful to say so. It is true that improvements have been made in microscopes since the Reports were written, but his illustrations were amazingly accurate for the time. He used copious illustrations because he said he wanted his readers to be able to detect friend from foe among the insects.

Riley was determined to make his Reports useful to the farmer and fruit grower and wrote in such a way that anyone unversed in entomology might read and understand. Scientific explanations were printed in smaller type so that readers might skip them, for he provided ample discussion in practical language. He very simply divided insects into three divisions, noxious, beneficial, or innoxious, and left no one in doubt as to the meaning of his terms. Popular names were used for insects, while the scientific names were printed in parentheses. Not only were popular names used but personal feeling was often expressed, as when he referred to the chinch bug as an "unsavory little scamp" and an "imp," or to the common plum *curculio* as a "little Turk." When he enlarged illustrations, he accompanied them by hair lines to indicate the original size. Injurious insects were described completely, natural and artificial remedies were given, and any aid or advice which he could offer was included in the Reports. Riley worked indefatigably and his Reports illustrate the efforts which he made to help agriculturalists combat insect pests. His style of writing was simple, pleasing, and convincing, and his descriptions and explanations were clear and vivid.

The scientific and practical facts which composed the Reports were bound together with flashes of humor, bits of poetry, and philosophical observations, all of which reveal the close relationship which Riley saw between entomology and the everyday world. The raspberry geometer (*Aplodes*

rubivora) was introduced to the reader of the 1st Report in the following manner:

The lovers of those most exquisite fruits, the Raspberry and the Blackberry are often greatly disgusted by the discovery of the fact that instead of the delicious berry which they expected to enjoy, they are munching the small caterpillar now under consideration.

In the 3rd Report, when describing the pea-weevil (*Bruchus pisi*), he said:

Though everybody may not know by sight the perfect beetle, yet everyone has most assuredly seen the work of the worm, and though knowledge of the fact may not add to our enjoyment of a mess of green peas, yet the fact nevertheless remains, that those of us in the Mississippi Valley who indulge in this delicious esculent, necessarily devour a young worm with nearly every pea that we eat. Gray's oft quoted lines,

"Where ignorance is bliss,
'Tis folly to be wise,"

would seem to apply here with great force; but when we reflect that the diminutive and almost imperceptible worm, nourished so to speak in the very marrow of the pea, really has no flavor and produces no injurious effects on the human system; we can chuckle in our sleeves and console ourselves with the thought that, notwithstanding the above truism, "wisdom is justified of her children."

Brief quotations from the Bible or from well-known poets were used very aptly and he occasionally depended upon verse of lesser quality. In the 4th Report, while discussing the Colorado potato beetle, he quoted a lengthy poem, "Potato Bugs and I." In the 7th Report, he quoted the description of locusts given by the prophet Joel, because he said nothing could surpass it. His desire to be of the greatest service to the most people was partially expressed in the 1st Report when he said:

The apple is, so to speak, our democratic fruit, and while stone fruit is grown but in certain regions, this is cultivated all over the country.

To Riley, therefore, it was very necessary to discuss the diseases of the apple tree.

It is unusual to read a scientific article, such as the one on katydids in the 6th Report, and find it introduced with

the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes, but it is more astonishing to read of Riley's preference for autumn in America when

grass and wood resound with song—not so much of feathered tribes as of insect tribes, and especially of the Katydid, green vaulters from leaf to leaf and from branch to branch—essentially American. The song of these entomological choristers may not compare in melody with that of the ornithological warblers; but though it grate at times, it has a merri-ness all its own, and, as it comes from bough or spear can never be unpleasant, for there is no sadness in the earth's minstrelsy.

Furthermore

while breathing the oppressive air of a mid-summer noon, when all life is hushed into a pall-like stillness by the sun's fierce, enervating rays; or when Nature is shrouded and muffled in her mid-winter cloak of snow and ice, and all is voiceless and desolate; the ruralist must often wish for the merry notes of the lively little fiddlers which make up his autumn orchestra. Let us then scrape a more intimate acquaintance with the leading members of the troupe.

The philosophy which inspired Riley was well expressed at the close of the 3rd Report when he said:

The law of the age is progress, and the point we reach today will form our starting point tomorrow. Every step which enables us to more truly interpret the workings of the Divine Mind in nature, necessarily brings us nearer to, and gives us a more intelligent idea, of a Creator. Each new insight into the significances and harmonies around us, helps us to lift the mystic veil and behold with awe and wonder the might and majesty of God—to converse with him as flesh with unknown Infinity: and I look forward to the day when the development of species will not only be universally recognized as a law, among naturalists; but when the liberal-minded theologian will revere the names of men like Darwin, who help to a higher conception of creation—instead of anathematizing them and ignorantly charging to their doctrines those atheistic tendencies which in times past have been vainly thrown up to those of so many other great, clear-thinking, discovering minds!

It may be interesting to know that Riley was said to be an Episcopalian with a tendency toward Unitarianism.

Riley's conception of the work of the naturalist is found in the 1st Report:

The prosperity of a State does not depend solely on its material wealth. KNOWLEDGE—that great interpreter of oracles—moves the world!

It enables us to see in the bowels of the unfathomable earth beneath, in the water, in the air, and in the skyey vast above, volumes written by the hand of Omnipotence!

"To win the secret of a weed's plain heart
Reveals the clue to spiritual things,"

And there are few departments of science which offer such food for the mind as does the study of Natural History. It has been truly said that the naturalist has no time for selfish thoughts. Everywhere around him he sees significances, harmonies, chains of cause and effect endlessly interlinked, which draw him out of the narrow sphere of self-lauding into a pure and wholesome atmosphere of joy and felicity.

In the 5th Report when suggesting textbooks for the entomologist, he concluded his advice with the following:

There is no better text-book, however, than that which lies before us on every hand—the great text-book prepared for our reading by the Creator In libraries and museums, the entomologist may find the dry bones of knowledge; but only in Nature's own museum can he clothe those dry bones with beauty and life. Let him, then, go forth into field and wood, where alone he can receive that rapturous inspiration, and experience that unutterable admiration and awe, caused by the mysterious animating force around and about him, and which sends zeal and strength thrilling through every fibre of the earnest naturalist—where

Meeting him at every gaze,
New truths give pleasure and amaze!

Riley's Missouri contemporaries did not always accept nor understand his work, yet he was given much credit and he often mentioned that the Reports did not circulate readily enough to supply the demand. According to Davis and Durrie (*An Illustrated History of Missouri*, 1876), Missourians commended Professor Riley (as he was generally called) for the clearness of his Reports, for his use of Paris green mixture for potato bugs and cotton worms, and for his work with the Grape *Phylloxera* which won him a medal of honor from the French government; also for the fact that he had shown Missourians how to control most of the insect pests of the State. The Reports were highly regarded by Charles Darwin and were favorably commented on by the London entomological magazines. Darwin had written to Riley in 1871, complimenting him for his work, and it was said that Darwin's copies of the 3rd and 4th Reports showed evidence of much

reading. Darwin was especially interested in Riley's theories with regard to mimicry in nature as illustrated by certain butterflies (published in the 3rd Report). Riley traveled about the State lecturing and seeking information. He may have been called the "bug catcher" at times, but farmers heard his lectures with interest, agricultural societies expressed their attitudes by complimentary resolutions, and the state board of agriculture occasionally passed resolutions honoring him. Norman J. Colman was his ardent supporter. In 1877, Riley was serving as president of the Academy of Science of St. Louis. The biographies in Barns' *Commonwealth of Missouri* and Davis' and Durrie's *Illustrated History of Missouri* were written while he was employed in Missouri and they were prophetic of the greatness he was to achieve.

Beginning with the 3rd Report, especial attention was given to the Grape *Phylloxera* and the information compiled was extended in the Report each year thereafter until Riley left Missouri. Investigations on insects affecting grapevines, roots of the vines, grape seed, etc., were begun in 1868 and were recorded in the 1st Report. The disease, Grape *Phylloxera*, was not only common in Missouri and the United States, but also in France, where vineyards had been damaged extensively. During the summer of 1871, Riley made a trip to Europe and gathered valuable data on this disease. In the summer of 1873, a French scientist, Professor Planchon, visited vineyards in the United States and came to Missouri. As a result of the work done by Riley and of the studies published in the Reports, Riley was awarded what he called "a grand gold medal" by the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce of France. The service rendered to the grape culture of France not only saved the vineyards of France but resulted in the extensive exportation of American vines to France for the purpose of grafting American disease-resisting cuttings on the French vines. It was said that several Missouri grape growers established agencies abroad as a result of the newly developed commerce.

The destructive invasion of Missouri and other states of the west by the Rocky Mountain locust in 1874, 1875, and

1876 gave Riley an enormous task which he handled ably. In the 7th, 8th, and 9th Reports, he published the results of his observations on the history, movements, habits, etc., of the Rocky Mountain locust (grasshopper) and advocated interstate cooperation and national regulation as necessary for control. Several western states passed legislation to encourage destruction of grasshoppers and Missouri passed two such laws in 1877. It was this work which led to Riley's appointment as chief of the United States Commission for the investigation of the Rocky Mountain locust.

Riley was always concerned with the economic side of his science and became interested in the possibility of human consumption of young locusts as a means of relieving starvation in destitute areas. The 8th Report contains a paper which Riley read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science. This paper tells the true story of his attempts to interest people in using locusts as food. He justified his efforts by ample historical references, and humorously as well as seriously described his own efforts to make locusts palatable. The famous dinner served by Riley and some naturalist friends at the Eads House in Warrensburg was described in detail. An editor and a banker of the town joined in the feast and at the end of the meal after eating a dessert of "baked locusts and honey *a la* John the Baptist," all decided that the prophet in the wilderness needed no sympathy. Contrary to general opinion, other experiments in serving grasshoppers were made in Missouri, and Riley said that he carried a small box of fried locusts with him for two months and offered them to his friends, even to members of the London Entomological Society and of the *Société Entomologique de France*.

Riley was also interested in the rehabilitation of those who suffered from the grasshopper scourge and of course recommended the use of grasshoppers as food for poultry and hogs and as fertilizer. The 8th Report includes his ideas on these subjects and relates the attitudes and experiences of the people in Missouri who suffered from the plague of grasshoppers. He explained his reactions to the Governor's proclamation for a day of fasting and prayer and, as would be

expected, very practically and forcibly advocated "well-directed, energetic work" to accompany the "supplications of the people."

A review of this type cannot emphasize all of the important features of the Nine Reports. Attention was given throughout the years to a long list of Missouri insect pests, the army worm and the cinch bug among them. The 4th Report is unique in an extended discussion of the silkworm and of the utilization of the leaves of the Osage orange as food for silkworms. Riley made numerous experiments and advocated the establishment of silk-culture on a small scale as one of the industries of Missouri. The 5th Report contains a copy of an article which Riley wrote for Campbell's *New Atlas of Missouri*, published in 1876. This article dealt with entomology and its relations to agriculture and its advancement, and contained instructions for collecting, preserving, and studying insects. Riley was anxious to publish articles in order to get information before the people more rapidly and extensively than the Reports of the state board of agriculture permitted. The agricultural paper, *Colman's Rural World*, was of great assistance in this respect. At intervals, throughout the Reports, Riley presented arguments and figures to prove the need for a State entomologist and the value of economic entomology. Riley hoped to see entomology taught in the schools of the State and wished to prepare a manual of study for the use of students. In the preface of the 7th Report, Riley described the collection of insects which the board of curators of the University of Missouri asked him to prepare for the College of Agriculture.

The Missouri Reports illustrate Riley's ability and versatility, his remarkable enthusiasm and zeal for study, and his keen perception of the essential factors in any problem, which led him to find the most direct solution for the problem. Riley was admired for his genius in illustration and observation and his ability to inspire confidence in the importance of his work. Although he may be accused of being temperamental and dictatorial with a tendency to receive credit for work done by subordinates under his direction in the United States Department of Agriculture, the

Missouri Reports were the result of individual effort on the part of Riley. In these Reports, he was careful to give credit to other scientists and maintained a high standard of intellectual integrity. Missourians may well be proud of the fact that so able a man as Riley served the State, and that the records of his research in Missouri remain the most valuable historical literature in economic entomology in the United States.

MISSOURI IN NATIONAL STATUARY HALL

For thirty-five years (1899-1934), the State of Missouri was represented in National Statuary Hall in the capitol of the United States by the statues of two of her most distinguished citizens, Thomas Hart Benton and Francis Preston Blair, Jr. Probably most Missourians have known that the statues of these two men have long been among the great of other states in that Valhalla of the United States. Few are aware, however, that today the statue of Thomas Hart Benton remains within National Statuary Hall while that of Francis Preston Blair has been placed in the Hall of Columns.

An act of Congress in 1864 provided that the room originally used by the house of representatives before the capitol was rebuilt should be designated as National Statuary Hall. The president of the United States was authorized to invite the states of the Union to provide no more than two bronze or marble statues of deceased persons who had been illustrious citizens renowned for distinguished civil or military services, these statues to be placed in the National Statuary Hall. It was fitting, as Representative Morrill said in 1864, that this particular room should be selected because of its beauty and because many of the nation's most distinguished citizens had begun or ended their careers in that room.

Missouri was slow in responding to the invitation expressed in the act and no explanation of this tardiness has been found. In 1887, Senator James C. McGinnis of St. Louis introduced an act in the State senate to provide for an appropriation of \$50,000 for placing the statues of Thomas Hart Benton and Francis Preston Blair in National Statuary

Hall. This act passed the senate on March 3 of that year but the committee on appropriations in the house, to which it was sent, made an unfavorable report. Again, in 1889, Senator McGinnis introduced the bill in the senate, but it received no consideration in that session of the legislature. Still persevering, Senator McGinnis introduced the same bill in the senate in 1891. The bill was reported favorably yet failed to pass when a vote was taken. The slight attention given the proposed bills indicates that there was no particular interest in providing representation for Missouri in the National Statuary Hall.

Governor William Joel Stone in his first biennial message to the 38th General Assembly, January 1, 1895, made special mention of the invitation Missouri had received. Governor Stone said:

Most of the states have already placed statues in the spaces reserved for them. Missouri alone, of all the larger states is without representation. This has been a subject of wonder to thousands of our fellow-citizens residing in other states, as it should be a cause for shame and humiliation to every Missourian. I doubtless underestimate when I say that every year fully 1,000,000 people march in and out of this hall. . . . In Missouri's space there is nothing to catch the eye, but only vacancy to reproach us. Every consideration of honor, pride and interest, requires that this disgrace should be terminated. . . . I feel safe in saying that every citizen of the State will agree that one of those to be placed there by Missouri is that of Thomas Hart Benton. Whatever difference of opinion you may have as to who should stand as his companion in this company of America's immortal men, I am confident there will be entire agreement that Mr. Benton is at least one of those deserving this honor at our hands. I recommend that the sum of \$6500 be appropriated to be used in having this statue made and placed in the hall referred to.

No discussion of the persons to be honored by the State is recorded in the journals of the General Assembly or in the newspapers. Mr. John L. Bittinger of St. Joseph introduced a bill in the house of representatives on January 24, 1895, providing for the purchase of marble or bronze busts of Thomas H. Benton and Francis P. Blair to be placed in the National Statuary Hall and suggesting an appropriation of \$12,000. The bill was delayed in the house committee on appropriations from January 24 to March 1, and Repre-

sentative Joseph T. Tatum of St. Louis, chairman of the committee, was charged with hostility to the bill. The bill passed the house, however, by a vote of 87 to 36. There were no difficulties in the senate and the bill passed that body by a vote of 29 to 1. Finally, on April 8, 1895, the bill became a law. It provided that the statues of Thomas H. Benton and Francis P. Blair, "illustrious for their historic renown and distinguished for their civil and military services to their country and their state," should be executed in marble or bronze at a price not to exceed \$12,000. A commission was named in the act to work with the Governor in carrying out the act. This commission consisted of Peter L. Foy of St. Louis, Odon Guitar of Boone county, O. M. Spencer of St. Joseph, B. B. Cahoon of St. Francois county, and James H. Birch of Clinton county.

Newspaper comment was very favorable to the bill. The Jefferson City *Daily Tribune* of February 5, 1895, seemed to approve of the selection of Benton and the editor published a eulogy on Blair. The *Tribune* made no qualifications whatever by 1899, when the statues were presented to Congress, and heartily endorsed the choice of both Benton and Blair. The editor was of the opinion that no two men could have been chosen to better represent this State. The editorial contained many of the same thoughts expressed by Champ Clark when he spoke in the national house of representatives upon the occasion of the presentation of the statues to Congress. The editor pointed out that both men had been soldiers, both had served in the United States senate and house of representatives, both had fought for the wants of the people, and, though both were Southern born, they had stood by the Union. He said further that:

Thomas H. Benton gave up a Senatorship because he would not yield to popular clamor. Francis P. Blair, Jr., relinquished a republican nomination for the Vice-Presidency, and possibly for the Presidency, in order to unite his political fortunes with a noted minority party. Benton made Missouri respected at Washington; Blair saved Missouri and the Union. Benton was admired; not loved. Feared and disliked even by his political friends, the pompous Senator was cordially detested, while his ability was acknowledged by political foes. Blair was as grim and stern at times as Benton ever dared to be, but he was personally lovable, and retained the

friendship as well as the admiration of those with whom he broke politically. Benton went to his political death and Blair became a physical wreck because of adherence to principle. At Benton's grave a nation stood uncovered and said a prince and a great man has fallen this day. At Blair's funeral the little children wept and the mourners went about the streets. . . . To both politics meant the service of the people—the highest service to which man may give himself.

The commission which was appointed to arrange for the erection of the statues was directed by the act of 1895 to report the progress of its work at the next session of the legislature. No record of such a report has been found nor do the auditor's or treasurer's report of the State give any information. It is known that the commission employed Alexander Doyle of New York City to execute the statues in marble.

When the statues were completed they were presented separately to the house of representatives and to the senate of the United States. Presentation and acceptance took place in the house of representatives on February 4, 1899. Alexander M. Dockery, Champ Clark, and James T. Lloyd of Missouri spoke in the house of representatives eulogizing Benton and Blair. Similar proceedings were held in the senate on May 19, 1900, when addresses were made by Senators Vest and Cockrell of Missouri, Hoar of Massachusetts, and Elkins of West Virginia.

By 1933, the number of statues in the Statuary Hall had increased to sixty-five. The statues were heavy and it was feared that undue weight was centered in the Hall. Congress had already begun to consider a change, and at the same time wanted to improve the overcrowded appearance of the room, to provide better locations for some of the statues, and to add to the interest of other portions of the Capitol. The fear of overloading had been substantiated by a report to the Architect of the capitol made by a reliable engineer employed for the task in 1932. It was the opinion of the engineer that the number of statues in the Hall should be reduced, since the weight at that time was about five hundred pounds per square foot of the loaded area. While the floor was believed not to be actually dangerous, it did not meet the

standard of safety. The Architect of the capitol agreed, and as a result of a report to Congress made by the engineer and Architect, Congress passed house concurrent resolution No. 47, effective February 24, 1933. This resolution provided:

That the Architect of the Capitol, upon the approval of the Joint Committee on the Library, with the advice of the Commission of Fine Arts, is hereby authorized and directed to relocate within the Capitol any of the statues already received and placed in Statuary Hall, and to provide for the reception and location of the statues received hereafter from the states.

An appropriation of \$2,500 was made by Congress on March 4, 1933, to be used by the Architect of the capitol for removing and relocating the statues.

During 1933 the members of the Joint Committee on the Library and of the Commission of Fine Arts together with the Architect of the capitol visited various sections of the capitol searching for new locations. Final decision as to relocation was made by July, 1934, and the actual work was then carried out.

The problem of selecting the statues to be removed and those to be retained was difficult. The question of weight, the prominence of the individual, and the artistic qualities of the statues all had to be considered in determining the changes. The Joint Committee on the Library held a meeting on January 12, 1934, and decided that "each State should thereafter be represented in Statuary Hall by only one statue, with the understanding, however, that in the rearrangement of Statuary Hall, the artistic effect should be kept paramount in the selection of statues for retention." Each state of the Union still has a right to send two statues to the capitol but only one statue may be placed in Statuary Hall, the second one will be located elsewhere in the capitol. In making the decision for Missouri, no one cause can be ascertained which had the greatest effect in determining the choice between Benton and Blair. The Joint Committee on the Library which made the final decisions as to relocation was composed of the following members of Congress:

Chairman: Alben W. Barkley, Senator from Kentucky
Kenneth McKellar, Senator from Tennessee
Elmer Thomas, Senator from Oklahoma
Simeon D. Fess, Senator from Ohio
Peter Norbeck, Senator from South Dakota
Kent E. Keller, Representative from Illinois
Carroll L. Beedy, Representative from Maine
Robert Luce, Representative from Massachusetts
Lindsay C. Warren, Representative from North Carolina
Robert T. Secrest, Representative from Ohio.

Today, the statue of Thomas Hart Benton stands in National Statuary Hall between that of Hannibal Hamlin of Maine and S. J. Kirkwood of Iowa. Eventually, when all of the states have contributed, there will be forty-eight statues within the Hall. At the present time, there are thirty-seven statues in the Hall, two having been added since relocation took place.

According to the report of the Architect of the capitol for 1936, the statue of Francis Preston Blair, Jr. has been placed in the Hall of Columns, with the statues from sixteen other states. Other statues removed from Statuary Hall may be found in the rotunda, the vestibule south of the rotunda, the vestibule of the former Supreme Court room, the Senate connection, and the House connection.

REPRINTS OF THE ST. LOUIS MISSOURI GAZETTE

The State Historical Society of Missouri has frequently received requests for evaluation of copies of the *St. Louis Missouri Gazette* for July 26, 1808, the date of the third issue of the first newspaper in Missouri. Although quite old in appearance and date, these papers are facsimile reprints published comparatively recently. They have little or no commercial value as they were issued in great numbers.

On July 12, 1908, the *St. Louis Republic* published a special 192-page centennial edition commemorating its founding as the *Missouri Gazette* in 1808. A part of this edition included a facsimile reprint of the third number of the *Missouri Gazette*, which is the earliest issue extant. Two hundred and

thirty thousand of these reprints were widely distributed throughout the State and nation, to individuals, public libraries, and institutions. The reprint was a four-page, three-column paper, $7\frac{5}{8}'' \times 12\frac{3}{8}''$ in size, printed on fairly heavy paper of coarse texture. The type resembled that in use in 1808 and is noticeable particularly as the old style "s" similar to the modern "f" was used. The reprint may be distinguished from the original, however, by the note in small type at the lower left corner of page three, "Supplement to St. Louis Republic, July 12, 1908." Also, at the extreme lower right corner of page four there are the figures: "1-9-0-8."

A second reprint is identical except that the line, "Supplement to St. Louis Republic, July 12, 1908," appears at the lower left hand corner of page one.

A third reprint of this same issue differs in that it is printed on limp rag paper, originally very white, in modern type, the latter distinguishable by the modern "s". However, this reprint bears no date of reprinting, nor anything identifying it with the St. Louis Republic. Its size is $8\frac{3}{16}'' \times 12\frac{3}{8}''$.

On another occasion, when St. Louis celebrated the 100th anniversary of its incorporation as a town, during the week beginning October 3, 1909, three other reprints were issued by the St. Louis Republic. The first of these was appropriately a reproduction of the issue of the *Missouri Gazette* for October 4, 1809, Volume 2, number 63. At the top of the first page appears the caption, "The St. Louis Republic One Hundred Years Ago," heavily underlined. Another edition appeared without this special caption. Each of these is a four-column issue, on ordinary wood pulp paper, size $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 16\frac{3}{4}''$. A great number of these were distributed with the regular edition of October 4, 1909.

At the same time, another reprint of the July 26, 1808 issue was made for free distribution. It is possible that one of the second or third reprints described above may have appeared at this time, but as there is no further identification on the copies owned by the Society this cannot be stated positively. In addition to the thousands of reprints distributed with the regular edition, many thousand more were

distributed from the *Republic* float in the parade on October 8, and subsequently from the *Republic* office.

TOPICS IN MISSOURI HISTORY

The generation of Missourians to whom the Civil War was contemporary has disappeared, but the descendants of those who participated carry with them the memories of stories told and retold of the conflict in Missouri, a border state. These memories have served to influence the political and social history of Missouri extensively. The Missourian of today, who would understand his State, must learn not only what happened in Missouri during the war between the states but how events affected the people living there. He must read sympathetically and dispassionately, for the greater portion of the literature of the Civil War in Missouri is necessarily partisan.

A bibliography on "Slavery and the Civil War in Missouri," compiled by F. A. Sampson and William Clark Breckenridge, was published in the *Review* in April, 1908. A more extensive bibliography, based upon this first one, may be found in the book, *William Clark Breckenridge, His Life, Lineage and Writings*, published by James M. Breckenridge of St. Louis in 1932. These bibliographies are excellent, but are too comprehensive for the average reader. Therefore, the bibliography which follows excludes slavery and deals only with references on the Civil War in Missouri to be found in books in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri. For the sake of convenience, this bibliography has been classified with special regard to its usefulness as well as the nature of the material will permit.

This issue of the *Review* presents references which can be used to give the reader a general survey of the war. Regimental and political history and accounts of local events and special subjects not treated here will be published in the July *Review*. In each case, it has been necessary to omit fiction and a certain amount of fragmentary material, such as published speeches and orations.

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DO YOU KNOW, OR DON'T YOU?

That Christmas day, December 25, 1845, was designated by Governor John C. Edwards as Thanksgiving day for that year?

That Henry M. Stanley, the famous explorer of Africa, made his "entry into journalistic life as a selected 'special'" at St. Louis? He spent most of the year of 1867 traveling in the western territories of the United States as a special correspondent of the *Missouri Democrat*. He received \$15 per week and his traveling expenses from the *Democrat* but increased his salary by contributions to several other newspapers and periodicals.

That coeducation was provided for in Platte county in 1849 by an act of the legislature chartering the Platte County

Male and Female Institute? There were to be separate departments, however, for boys and girls.

That Missouri's first constitution has sometimes been called the "Barton Constitution"? Of the forty-one delegates to the convention which framed the Constitution of 1820, there were six who may be termed the principal authors: David Barton, Edward Bates, John D. Cook, John Rice Jones, J. S. Findlay, and John Scott. Although he was not the sole author, Barton was able to exercise great influence upon the Constitution because of his position as president of the constitutional convention.

That the only reference to Missouri's boundaries in the current edition of the *Revised Statutes* (1929) is in Article I of the Constitution of 1875 which defines the boundaries of the State as those "heretofore established by law"?

That the first regular mining of copper in Missouri took place in Shannon county about 1837, before the copper deposits in Michigan were producing and when those in the west were unknown? Copper has been mined intermittently in Shannon county since that time?

That *The American Grape Culturist*, established in St. Louis in 1868 by George Husmann, was the only periodical published in the United States at that time which was devoted solely to the subjects of grape culture and wine-making?

That Major Amos Stoddard was among the early travelers and residents in Missouri who mentioned beds of coal as being in Missouri? The information he recorded about Missouri was the result of his observations in 1804. He mentioned coal as being "on the right bank of the Missouri, and not many miles about its mouth." The *Journals* of Lewis and Clark also refer to the existence of coal along the Missouri river in 1804 near St. Charles and in the vicinity of Clay county.

That in April, 1861, a group of students in the University of Missouri organized themselves at the courthouse at Columbia, Missouri, and adopted resolutions favoring secession? The Confederate flag was unfurled and orations were made fervently expressing belief in states rights and sympathy with the Southern states and declaring that there was no reason for Missouri to remain longer in the Union.

That horses were suggested as a means of helping locomotives which might enter Bowling Green, Missouri, on the proposed Louisiana and Columbia railroad? A United States army engineer made the suggestion when the bill incorporating the Louisiana and Columbia railroad was under discussion in the State legislature in 1836.

That, in 1834, the legislature of Missouri ratified an amendment to the Constitution which proposed extending the northern boundary of the State due east to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi river? Such an extension would have annexed the land lying in the fork of the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers.

That in February, 1835, a bill was introduced in the State senate which would have permitted resident householders and widows who were householders to vote relative to whether they wanted to use a proposed county fund for academies or for common schools in the counties? The bill outlined a plan for lending the seminary and saline funds of the State "to provide for the distribution of the same among the several counties for the purpose of establishing Academies or Common Schools and for the establishment and maintenance of a State University."

That Dr. David Waldo, who held numerous public offices in Gasconade county in the early days, was often referred to as "Governor of the State of Gasconade"? Gasconade county was so large when it was first organized that it was often called the "State of Gasconade."

ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE PIONEER PRESS

FURS AND SKINS.—The highest market price paid for Furs and Deer Skins, at the American Fur Company's office.¹

From the St. Louis *Missouri Argus*, March 22, 1839.

WHEAT²

Wheat and also Indian Corn, will forthwith be purchased and contracted for by the subscriber, for the supply of a Grist Mill which is ready to go into operation.

Joseph Phillipson

From the St. Louis *Enquirer*, January 6, 1821.

¹The activity of John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company at St. Louis covers the years 1822-1834. During the early years of the Missouri Fur Company, which St. Louis traders had organized in 1808-09, the question had been raised of admitting Astor, but due to the desire to keep the market to themselves the New Yorker had been excluded. According to Lippincott, Astor's interest in the organization of 1822 came about as the result of pressure brought to bear upon the merchants of St. Louis rather than from their desire to obtain his co-operation. This fact no doubt accounts for the hatred with which the New York Company was regarded by traders in St. Louis. Following the organization of the company, New York interests dominated the St. Louis fur trade until the retirement of Astor in 1834, when the so-called western department was sold to Pratte, Chouteau and Company and the fur-trading interests of St. Louis again reverted to the control of local traders. The company continued in existence, with various changes, until about 1860.

²Very early in the history of Missouri, wheat was cultivated, although it was not produced extensively and was not particularly profitable. The French settlers of the colonial period grew wheat, and, as early as 1760, wheat was said to be the principal crop of Ste. Genevieve. Houck found that in 1772 St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve produced 5,898 quintals (a quintal was equivalent to 108 pounds) of wheat and about one-fifth of that amount of flour was shipped to New Orleans. Travelers, among them Brackenridge, who described colonial Missouri, mentioned wheat among the crops raised by the French.

The American settlements raised wheat also. In 1803, the farmers of Cape Girardeau raised 2,950 bushels of wheat, although it is true that they raised more corn than that. By 1819, the St. Louis *Enquirer* declared that wheat had been produced abundantly that year, that Missouri wheat was almost incredibly heavy, and prophesied that Missouri would be able to furnish wheat to the United States troops on the frontier of the Territory. Wheat must have been produced more extensively by the time Missouri became a state if the advertisements of flour mills are an indication.

When the Agricultural Society of the County of St. Louis was formed in the spring of 1822, the cultivation of wheat was the first objective of the society. At this time farmers of the State were quite generally concerned about improvement in crop production.

ASPARAGUS ROOTS³

Of one and two years growth, may be had at my Garden.

John B. N. Smith.

From the St. Louis *Enquirer*, March 16, 1822.

TAVERN AND FERRY

At Current Town, on Current River.

The subscriber has taken this method to inform the public, that he has taken the above stand (formerly occupied by Mr. Hicks) and intends in future to devote his whole attention thereto. The roads to Arkansas and Mount Prairie pass through the Current Village, and must be traveled very much hereafter.

Jacob T. Miller.

From the St. Louis *Enquirer*, July 21, 1821.

DOCT'R BLUMENAU⁴

FROM EUROPE.

OFFERS his professional services to the public. His place of permanent residence is in the Town of Cape Girardeau, State of Missouri. His Office is adjoining Daniel F. Steinbeck's Store where calls will be punctually attended to.

N. B. In the late war of Europe, he has officiated as Hospital Physician and Surgeon in the army of Napoleon Bonaparte.—Likewise large hospitals have been entrusted to his care. He has brought with him a good supply of Medicines from Europe, and hopes by his skill and assiduity in his profession to obtain a share of the public patronage. As the times are hard, his charges will be moderate.

Medicle [*sic*] advice, given gratis to the poor.

Cape Girardeau, May 5, 1821.

From the Jackson, Missouri, *Independent Patriot*, May 19, 1821.

³Frontier Missourians were not wholly concerned with securing the staple foods necessary to life. The above advertisement in the spring of 1822 indicates an interest in a choice garden vegetable.

⁴The advertisements of physicians and school teachers were imposing in the early years of Missouri history. The physicians seem to have been well trained for the most part and accomplished much, according to the scientific standards of the time. Several physicians had established themselves in Cape Girardeau much earlier. Houck states the Dr. Zenas Priest of New York and Dr. Thomas Neale of Virginia had come in 1805, before Cape Girardeau had been incorporated. Dr. Thomas Byrne was practicing near Cape Girardeau in 1812, and in 1820, Dr. John C. Duncan was practicing there. Dr. Blumenau did not advertise long in the *Independent Patriot* and history seems to be silent concerning him thereafter, despite his estimable qualifications.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

PARKS TO HONOR PERSHING AND CROWDER

A long-standing American tradition is to honor distinguished military men by means of imposing bronze or granite monuments. Missourians are showing sound common sense in departing from this custom to perpetuate the names of two famous sons. State parks, outdoor playgrounds for present and future generations, are being planned near the birthplaces of General John J. Pershing and Major-General Enoch H. Crowder.

An appropriation of \$20,000 for the Pershing park, three miles west of Laclede, Missouri, was voted by the last legislature, and 1,770 acres of land have been acquired for the purpose. The area is heavily forested, and contains the swimming hole where the future commander of the A. E. F. spent many boyhood hours. In addition, it includes one of Missouri's oldest grist mills with its ancient water wheel, built below an old-fashioned log dam. This is a historical landmark worth preserving for its own sake alone.

Plans for the Crowder park are being carried out by a group of Grundy county citizens. The site is near Trenton, where General Crowder was born in 1859. It is fitting that his native State at least should honor this soldier whose early career included a period as professor of military science at the University of Missouri and who later became Judge Advocate-General of the army and supervisor of the 1917 Draft Act.

Northwest Missouri will have two genuine assets when Pershing and Crowder parks come into being, and appropriate tribute will have been paid these two notable products of the State.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 24, 1938.

MISSOURI MUSEUM SOCIETY ORGANIZED

Prominent Missourians met at Jefferson City on February 5, 1938, to organize the Missouri Museum Society, the purpose of which is to preserve the handicraft of the State as

well as its natural resources, and to provide museum facilities for the schools of the State. One of the projects considered is the building, with the co-operation of the education department, of portable conservation models for the schools.

Officers of the newly formed society are Justus R. Moll, of the secretary of state's department, president; Professor M. R. Chedsey of the Rolla School of Mines, vice-president; and Dr. A. C. Burrill, director of the State Resources Museum, secretary. The meeting was authorized by Governor Lloyd C. Stark.

OUTSTANDING ACQUISITIONS

The Lafayette County Tax Book for 1860, an invaluable manuscript record of the pioneer residents and the wealth of this county, certified as complete and accurate by the clerk of the county court in 1860, has been presented to the State Historical Society by Mr. Andy W. Wilcox, of Lexington, Missouri, now a member of the State Tax Commission.

Mr. Walter B. Stevens of Georgetown, S. C., former president of the State Historical Society from 1916-1925, and now its first vice-president, has donated to the Society an interesting scrapbook. This scrapbook contains clippings of articles that pertain to Missouri journalism and prominent journalists since 1877. This is the thirteenth scrapbook that Mr. Stevens has given the Society.

Two valuable German books have been donated to the Society by Dr. William G. Bek, dean of the college of science, literature and arts of the University of North Dakota. The first of these is Gottfried Duden's *Bericht*, of which Dr. Bek made an annotated translation for *The Missouri Historical Review* several years ago. This particular copy was in possession of Herman Steines on his trip to America in 1833, a gift of his brother Friedrich Steines, who later became a "Follower of Duden." It was presented to Dr. Bek by Ernst Edmund Steines, a son of the original owner. The second volume is *Länger als ein Menschenleben in Missouri*, by Gert Göbel, and is also an important book concerning the German element in the State.

A collection of early Missouri manuscripts, mainly the papers of James Keyte, Missouri pioneer and founder of Keytesville and Brunswick, has recently been obtained by the State Historical Society. The collection, covering the period from 1819 to 1869, consists of 256 items, and includes military bounty land grants in Chariton county; records of the steamer "Old Bullion," from St. Louis to Brunswick; shipping forms, entering merchandise shipped aboard steamers running between Rocheport and St. Louis; James Keyte's account and receipt book, 1829 and later; a journal kept by John F. Lewis of Glasgow, 1862-1869; ledger accounts of the firm of Applegate and Gordon; and correspondence, receipts, and inventories of estates.

Otto Basye of Kansas City, Missouri, has presented to the State Historical Society of Missouri a copy of the diary of Lisbon Bayse. This diary covers the period from March 17, to June 4, 1852, and tells of Lisbon Bayse's trip from Bowling Green, Missouri, to Jasper county, Missouri, and return. The journey was made at the suggestion of a brother, James J. Bayse, who had become interested in the lead mines in Jasper county.

A carbon copy of 14,922 sheets comprising the report of the Survey of Federal Archives in Missouri, a WPA project directed by Dr. Ralph P. Bieber, of Washington University, St. Louis, was presented to this Society in December, 1937, by Dr. Bieber. The purpose of this survey was to provide information on the unpublished government records in the 159 Missouri towns and cities which were surveyed.

A collection of fifteen manuscripts and three maps relating to Washington county, Missouri, has been presented to the Society by Mrs. L. Emily Overstreet of Kansas City. The manuscripts include land surveys, deeds, records of a trustee's sale and official correspondence during the period from 1847 to 1868.

A file of the Journals of the seventeenth to forty-eighth annual conventions of the Diocese of West Missouri of the Protestant Episcopal Church, covering the period from 1906 to 1937, has been donated to the Society by the Right Reverend Robert Nelson Spencer, bishop of the diocese. This acquisition completes the Society's file from the date of organization of the Diocese in 1890 to the present.

PHOTOSTATIC AND MICROFILM ACQUISITIONS

Through the courtesy of Mr. E. C. Nunn of Maywood, Missouri, Mr. Don Sosey of Palmyra secured an original ledger formerly belonging to the late John Gatewood Nunn and his partner, John Wash, in order that it might be photostated by the State Historical Society. The ledger records the business transactions of a grist, flour, and saw mill on the Fabius river in Lewis county during 1835-1883. The mill was built in 1829 by John G. Nunn, who came to Marion county from Kentucky in September of that year.

Through the courtesy of Mr. B. E. Powell, librarian of the University of Missouri, the Society has been permitted to have photostatic copies made of a number of early University catalogues and programs in the Library's files. Photostatic reproductions were made of the first four annual catalogues of the University, for the years 1843 to 1846, inclusive, and of twelve exhibition and commencement programs from July 24, 1844, to February 22, 1850.

To augment its collection of James S. Rollins manuscripts, the Society has obtained micro-film copies of thirty-three Rollins letters which are in the collection of the papers of Carl Schurz in the Library of Congress. These letters on political subjects, dated from 1870 to 1885, comprise 149 pages of manuscript.

Through the courtesy of Harvard College Library, and Edward L. Gookin, registrar, the Society has recently obtained

photostatic copies of the *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Marion College, Mo., 1835-6*, and *Addresses Delivered by Appointment before the Professors and Tutors of Marion College, Mo.*, the latter incomplete.

Continuing its progress in microphotographing the Palmyra *Spectator*, reported in the January issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*, the Society has secured photographs of the file from May 5, 1871, to April 6, 1888, an additional 3,487 pages. These also are made from Mr. Don Sosey's file.

ANNIVERSARIES

The 100th anniversary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of Lexington, Missouri, occurred on December 5, 1937. A pageant and a musical program were a part of the centennial celebration.—From the *Lexington Advertiser*, December 1, 1937.

The Centennial of the St. Louis public schools will be observed on April 2, 1938. This year also marks the 85th anniversary of Central High School in St. Louis, and the 65th anniversary of the founding of the first successful public kindergarten in North America by Susan Blow at the Des Peres school.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 16, 1938.

The 90th anniversary of the founding of the First Christian Church of Savannah, Missouri, will be celebrated on December 12, 1937.—From the *Savannah Reporter*, December 10, 1937.

The 85th anniversary of the founding of Culver-Stockton College at Canton, Missouri, will be celebrated on January 28, 1938.—From the *Canton Press-News*, January 27, 1938.

The 75th anniversary of Grant City, Missouri, was celebrated in February, 1938. A history of the town appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of February 20, 1938.

The Monday Club, a woman's club of Webster Groves, Missouri, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in November, 1937. The Club originally consisted of five women, but now has a membership of about three hundred, divided into six sections.

The 50th anniversary of the first run of "Old Eli", now called the "American Royal," the train which ushered in overnight passenger service between Kansas City and Chicago, was observed on December 18, 1937.—From the *Macon Chronicle-Herald*, December 18, 1937.

The 50th anniversary of the incorporation of the Chamber of Commerce of Kansas City, Missouri, originally known as the Commercial Club, was observed on December 30, 1937. A booklet given at the golden anniversary luncheon on December 29, 1937, lists the business firms in Kansas City which have been in existence for fifty years or more.

The Echo Literary Club, oldest women's club in Harrison county, observed its 46th anniversary on January 4, 1938, at Bethany, Missouri.—From the *Harrison County Times*, January 6, 1937.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

The *St. Charles Banner-News* of January 20, 1938, reprints an article from the *New York Times* on the purchase by the State of Pennsylvania of the Squire Boone farm, birthplace of Daniel Boone, near Reading, Pennsylvania. The farm will be maintained as a public memorial.

A memorial to James Playfair Somerville, founder of the Co-Operative Club International, has been erected at the entrance to the cemetery at Savannah, Missouri. Mr. Somerville was a resident of Savannah for many years. —From the *St. Joseph News-Press*, December 12, 1937.

A bronze plaque has been erected in the William H. Lynch Public School at Salem, Missouri, in honor of Miss Bertha Sprague, who for thirty-nine years was a teacher in the Salem Public schools.

NOTES

The Vernon County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held at Nevada, Missouri, on January 11, 1938. Temporary officers were elected as follows: G. H. Summers, president; W. T. Ballagh, vice-president; J. B. Journey, secretary; H. E. Williams, treasurer; and Fred Harriman, financial secretary. The organization is being incorporated through the efforts of Mr. Journey. After the business meeting, some of the members gave brief histories of their families in Vernon county.

The first joint meeting of the recently organized Cooper-Howard Historical Society was held in New Franklin, Missouri, on January 26, 1938, with Lilburn A. Kingsbury, president of the organization, presiding. Colonel J. B. Barnes of Boonville was elected vice-president and Floyd C. Shoemaker was elected to life membership in the society. Dean E. P. Puckett of Central College, the principal speaker at the meeting, gave a vivid and interesting account of Old Franklin. His address is reprinted in full in the *Boonville Daily News* of February 1 and February 7, 1938, and excerpts are found in the *Fayette Advertiser* of February 1, 1938, and the *Fayette Democrat-Leader* of January 28, 1938. The society is sponsoring a series of sketches dealing with the history of this region of Missouri, which appear in the local press beginning in January, 1938.

The second annual meeting of the Johnson County Historical Society was held at Warrensburg, Missouri, on December 12, 1937. Dr. C. A. Phillips of Columbia, Missouri, the principal speaker, had as his subject "Chapel Hill College." Descendants of students who attended the college also spoke. The college was located in Lafayette county near the Johnson county line. At a business meeting following the program Dr. H. A. Phillips was elected president of the organization. B. S. Couch, vice-president; and Mrs. A. L. Smiser, secretary and treasurer. An account of the meeting appears in the Warrensburg *Star-Journal* of December 14, 1937. Dr. Phillips' speech is reprinted in the Lexington *Advertiser-News* of January 7, 1938.

The Clay County Historical Society will sponsor this year its third annual essay contest for elementary and high school students of Clay county. The subject of the essays is to be "My Family's History."—From the *Liberty Chronicle*, December 2, 1937.

The late Mrs. Lucy Wortham James bequeathed to the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Missouri a 1400-acre tract of land including Meramec Spring, one of the beauty spots of the Ozarks and the site of the first iron furnace in Missouri, for a public park. Mrs. James was the great-granddaughter of William James, one of the founders of the Meramec Iron Works, established in 1826 at the spring near St. James, Missouri. The furnace was abandoned about fifty years ago.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 5, 1938.

The late Mrs. Andrew Leeper, a former resident of Chillicothe, Missouri, bequeathed to the city of Chillicothe \$10,000 of her estate for the erection of a public library, to be known as Leeper Library.—From the *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune*, December 21, 1937.

In honor of its 40th birthday, the Independence *Examiner* issued a 130-page special edition on February 19, 1938. Each of the fourteen sections of the edition deals with a different phase of activity in which the community has developed, featuring the theme, "Independence Today and Tomorrow."

An interesting biography of David Barton, written by Colonel J. B. Barnes, appears in the Boonville *Advertiser* of December 10, 1937. Colonel Barnes is also the author of the following articles which appeared in the issues of the Boonville *Daily News* for January 25, February 11, and February 15, 1938, respectively: "Military and Political Results of Boonville Battle Far-Reaching," "Boonville 'Settled' 128 Years Ago This Morning," and "History of Boonville's Harley Park is Related."

An article by Edward W. Sowers entitled "Boon's Lick Salt Spring is Historical Center" appears in the Boonville *Advertiser* of December 10, 1937.

An excellent feature story by Walter G. Heren, entitled "St. Clair County Celebration Soon Will End State's Oldest Lawsuit," appears in the Kansas City *Journal-Post* of February 20, 1938. St. Clair county recently paid the last installment of \$585,000 in judgment bonds for a railroad that was never built. In 1870 the county issued bonds to the amount of \$250,000 as a stock subscription to the proposed Tebo and Neosho railroad. After fifty-six lawsuits in federal courts over the forty-three year period, a compromise settlement of \$585,000 was made. On May 2, 1938, there will be a celebration in Osceola, the county seat, when the judgment bonds are burned.

Another article on the history of these bonds appears in the Kansas City *Times* of February 4, 1938.

The history of the Monroe county postal system was the subject of an address made by Floyd C. Shoemaker on December 4, 1937, at the dedication of the new government building and post office at Paris, Missouri. The Paris post office was established in 1830 or 1831, and was at first called Monroe C. H., or Monroe Courthouse. The speech is reprinted in the *Paris Mercury* of December 10, 1937, the *Paris Monroe County Appeal* of December 9, 1937, and the *Monroe City News* of December 16, 1937.

A recently discovered booklet, called the "Old Settlers' Edition," printed in 1903 by the *Putnam Journal* of Unionville, Missouri, contains a complete list of taxpayers then living in the county and information on the first resident, the first birth, and the first wedding in Unionville.—From the *Unionville Republican*, December 29, 1937.

An article by Mrs. Adella Breckenridge Moore, entitled "Final Incorporation of Potosi 100 Years Ago, on February 7, 1838," appears in the *Potosi Independent-Journal* of February 17, 1938. The article traces the history of Potosi from the time of the discovery of its lead mines by Francis Breton about 1763, when it was known as Mine à Breton, until the time of its second incorporation more than seventy years later.

A feature story entitled "Some of the 138 Kinds of Weather For Which Missouri is Celebrated" appears in the *Kansas City Times* of February 3, 1938. Some of the worst extremes in Missouri weather were probably experienced in the 1830's.

An article entitled "No, St. Joseph Did Not Obtain Maine Bathtub" appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of February 13, 1938. St. Joseph at one time asked for the bathtub of Captain Charles D. Sigsbee, which was salvaged

from the wreckage, as a memento of the destruction of the Maine, an event which precipitated the Spanish-American war.

Two articles of note by E. L. Renno, appearing in the St. Charles *Cosmos-Monitor*, are those entitled "Four Big Show Places in St. Louis in Old Times" (in the issue of December 15, 1937), and "Indian Troubles and Murders in St. Charles County Early in 1800" (in the issue of January 12, 1938). Other historical articles by Mr. Renno appear in the *Cosmos-Monitor* of November 17, November 24, and December 8, 1937.

Articles by Wilson Bell of Potosi, Missouri, on social and economic conditions in the Washington county tiff country, appear in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of February 20 and February 27, 1938. These articles are accompanied by roto-gravure pictures.

A feature story entitled "The Wornall Home Is 80 Years Old" appears in the Kansas City *Star* of February 20, 1938. When the house was built in 1858 it was a farm home, set in a 1,100-acre tract of land one and one-quarter miles from Westport, Missouri. Now it is in the heart of the Kansas City Country Club district.

An illustrated feature story by Margaret Hamilton, entitled "Missouri's Old Mansion, Now Remodeled, Delights the Governor's Wife," appears in the Kansas City *Star* of February 20, 1938.

An article on the forthcoming two-volume history of the University of Missouri by Dr. Jonas Viles of the history department of the University, appears in the Kansas City *Star* of February 20, 1938.

Additional excerpts from the Civil war diary of Colonel Finlay P. Hubbell appear in the *Richmond News* of November 19 and November 26, 1937.

A picture of the main street in Sedalia, Missouri, in 1868 appears in the *Sedalia Democrat and Capital* of December 12, 1937.

The historical series entitled "Romance of Fact" by Mrs. Adella Breckenridge Moore is continuing in the *Potosi Washington County News*.

Valuable articles by J. L. Ferguson on Johnson county pioneers and events of interest in the history of the county appear in the *Warrensburg Star-Journal* of November 23, December 7, December 17, 1937 and January 14, and 18, 1938.

A history of the public school of Stony Point, Washington county, Missouri, compiled by Mrs. Winifred Mosier, appears in the *Potosi Washington County News* of January 7, 1938.

An old two-story brick house near La Grange, Missouri, constructed by Reason Bozarth on the site of the one-room log cabin built in 1819 by his father, the first permanent settler in Lewis county, is being torn down.—From the *Edina Sentinel*, January 20, 1938.

An article entitled "Corner Here Has Been Hotel Site For 90 Years" appears in the *Harrisonville Cass County Democrat* of November 25, 1937. The present building was erected in 1882, supplanting the old City Hotel, which stood on the corner for over thirty years.

An article in the *Marshall Daily Democrat-News* of December 9, 1937, records the recollections of Judge A. F. Downs

on the growth of Marshall, Missouri. Judge Downs was born near Marshall in 1850.

An article appearing in the St. Joseph *News-Press* of December 5, 1937, entitled "One Family's History is Traced Through Years," traces the history of the family of John Ramot from 1874 by simple entries in old city directories.

An article entitled "Big Celebration Was Held in St. Charles Saturday Night, September 9, 1871," appears in the St. Charles *Cosmos-Monitor* of December 11, 1937. The celebration was in honor of the first gas lights in the town.

Missouri history is being taught in 282 high schools this year.—From the Jefferson City *Missouri Schools*, December, 1937.

Articles by Ray E. Colton on the possibilities of meteoric deposits in northern Webster county and on the evidence found there of an ancient civilization appear in the Marshfield *Mail* of November 11 and November 25, 1937.

Pictures illustrating the development of the St. Joseph, Missouri, street railway system from 1866 to 1938 appear in the St. Joseph *News-Press* of January 22, 1938.

A feature story on the old book "Rural Rhymes and Talks and Tales of Olden Times", by Martin Rice, appears in the Kansas City *Star* of November 28, 1937. Rice, according to the article, was born in Tennessee in 1814 and moved to Lone Jack, Missouri, in 1833.

A brief history of the grade schools in Liberty, Missouri, written by John Truex, appears in the Liberty *Chronicle* of December 20, 1937.

An article on the Osage River dam of the 1890's, by Dr. Charles W. Beaman, appears in the *Jefferson City Sunday News and Tribune* of January 9, 1938.

An article entitled "Time Has Marched Apace" appears in the *Missouri Alumnus* for December, 1937. This article contains many facts about the University of Missouri in 1848, as it was described in the University catalogues for that year, copies of which are in the collection of the State Historical Society.

A brief biographical sketch written by H. D. Berry about S. H. Leonard, one of Stone county's "old timers", appears in the *Crane Chronicle* of December 9, 1937.

McCune Gill, an authority on St. Louis history, in a talk given before the Cathedral Luncheon Club of Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis, outlined briefly the history that has centered around the St. Louis riverfront where the federal government is planning to build a national park.—From the *St. Louis Star-Times*, January 6, 1938.

A brief history of four post offices of Putnam county that were long ago discontinued appears in the *Unionville Republican* of December 22, 1937.

An illustrated article on Edinburg, Missouri, appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of January 9, 1938. Edinburg is the birthplace of Major General Enoch H. Crowder.

Judge Jefferson D. Hostetter of Bowling Green and St. Louis, in a talk made at a dinner observing the 25th year of service of Judge Edgar B. Woolfolk on the bench of the 35th judicial circuit, gave a brief history of the judges who have oc-

cupied the bench since the early 1880's, when Judge Hostetter was admitted to the bar.—From the *Louisiana Press-Journal*, January 14, 1938.

A feature article by Frank C. Wornall entitled "My Father Saved From Bushwhackers" appears in the *Kansas City Star* of January 23, 1938.

An article by Sam Smith on Dr. John Sappington entitled "Early Missouri Physician's Work to Cure Malaria Goes Unsung" appears in the *Kansas City Journal-Post* of January 16, 1938.

An article on "the Nation district," famed for the odd customs of its inhabitants, appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of January 23, 1938. "The Nation" was a region of rather indefinite boundaries located in northeastern Worth county and northwestern Harrison county.

The Caruthersville *Democrat-Argus* on December 17, 1937, published a letter by Harvey E. Averill, former Caruthersville newspaper man, giving information about the old *Pemiscot Press* and about Pemiscot county at the turn of the century.

An article entitled "Old Hemp Baler on William Douglas Farm Agricultural Landmark of 100 Years Ago" appears in the *Marshall Daily Democrat-News* of February 12, 1938.

An historical sketch of the branch of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific railroad, which runs between Altamont, Missouri and Leavenworth, Kansas, appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of February 6, 1938. The branch is soon to be discontinued.

A new souvenir pamphlet to be given free to visitors to the Missouri state capitol at Jefferson City has been issued by the department of state. The pamphlet contains several illustrations and interesting information about the capitol, including a brief description of the Benton murals.

A reminiscent letter from Roy E. Grubbs of Jefferson City, Missouri, to the editor of the *Liberty Tribune*, recalling boyhood days and events in Missouri City, Missouri, appears in the *Tribune* of January 13, 1938.

A valuable article on Benton City, one of Missouri's ghost towns, entitled "A Dream of the Past," appears in the *Holden Enterprise* of February 10, 1938. Benton City was platted almost seventy years ago in the post-civil war boom, but was never settled.

Articles by George W. Bailey on events in the early history of Linn county, Missouri, appear in the *Brookfield Argus* of January 15 and February 8, 1938.

The January 25, 1938, issue of *School and Home*, publication of the St. Louis public schools, contains information on the public school centennial to be celebrated in St. Louis this year.

A biography of Joseph Nash McDowell, noted Missouri surgeon who died in 1868, by Dr. Robert E. Schleuter of St. Louis, has been reprinted in booklet form from the Washington University *Medical Alumni Quarterly* for October, 1937.

The Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Missouri College of Agriculture has issued a valuable monograph on "Forest Restoration in Missouri." This study was

published in November, 1937, as Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 392.

An article by Augusta H. Graham entitled "The Ancestral Home of the Osage Indians," which recounts several legends and traditions of the Osages and of the founding of Harmony Mission, appears in the winter number, 1937, of the University of Kansas City *Review*.

Articles on Mark Twain in the 1937-38 winter edition of *The Mark Twain Quarterly*, published at Webster Groves, are as follows: "Mark Twain As Collaborator," by Isaac F. Marcossou; "Mark Twain and The American Tradition," by Robert Herrick; "Mark Twain A Negligible Item," by Harry Leon Wilson; and "My Feeling About Mark Twain," by Norman Hapgood.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

A Preliminary Check List of Missouri Imprints, 1808-1850. (American Imprints Inventory, No. 1). Prepared by the Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, Works Progress Administration (Washington, D. C., November 1937; ix, 225 pp.; mimeographed). This compilation was made under the direction of Douglas C. McMurtrie of Evanston, Illinois, consultant to the National Director of the Historical Records Survey. The majority of the entries were made from Mr. McMurtrie's personal record of titles. The report is not offered as a finished bibliography, but represents a first contribution toward a future bibliography of Missouri imprints.

The list comprises a total of 706 titles, including twelve indicated as doubtful. They are arranged in chronological order. Except for an informal list of 254 imprints earlier than 1851, compiled by William Clark Breckenridge and Francis Asbury Sampson, which was published in memory of the former by James M. Breckenridge in 1932, this is the only known check list of its kind. Its more numerous titles mark

it as the most comprehensive yet published, including as it does a preliminary survey of the holdings of eighty-seven public and private libraries.

The usefulness of the list will lie in its incentive and guide to workers in the field of bibliography. Its value to librarians, historians, and research workers is important, particularly through its bibliographical description and location of titles.

Early History of the Northern Ozarks. By Gerard Schultz. (Jefferson City Mo., Midland Printing Co., 1937. 192 pp.) This book is a detailed compilation of factual materials dealing with pre-historic developments and the history of the Northern Ozarks up to 1860. It makes available historical data that could only be obtained from earlier county histories, county court records and newspaper files, which have not been used so extensively before. The work covers the history of the following seventeen counties: Benton, Camden, Cole, Crawford, Dent, Franklin, Gasconade, Laclede, Maries, Miller, Moniteau, Morgan, Osage, Phelps, Pulaski, Texas, and Washington. Histories of these counties are found in volumes published in 1888 and 1889, all of which are out of print. Of these counties only Franklin, Miller and Moniteau counties have recently published histories. The present work contains much interesting data and is a valuable addition to the reference materials on this section of Missouri.

Lange, Dena, *Facts Concerning One Hundred Years of Progress in the Public Schools of St. Louis, 1838-1938.* [Published as Volume 35, No. 5 of the St. Louis *Public School Messenger*, January 3, 1938.] (St. Louis, 1938. 107 pp.) This compilation of briefly stated facts is taken chiefly from the official proceedings of the St. Louis board of education and the annual reports of the superintendent of St. Louis schools. The work was especially designed as a source of information for class work, drama, pageantry and exercises commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of public education in

St. Louis. It represents a large amount of research, is well adapted to the purpose for which it was written, and is a contribution to the history of education in Missouri.

The work traces the development of a city public school system which has evolved from a two-room school house with but two teachers into an educational plant of 157 schools, providing for approximately 100,000 students, and employing 3,000 teachers. It shows how a simple two-year course in reading and writing has been gradually expanded into the present well-rounded curriculum. Here also one may get a glimpse of 100 years of development in the art of teaching and in the profession of school administration.

No centennial anniversary of the year is more significant to the State of Missouri than that of the opening of the first public school in St. Louis on April 2, 1838. The board of education and the departments of administration and research, through the publication of this work, have provided excellent data for the observance of a most important occasion.

"J. M. Greenwood." (*Kansas City School Service Bulletin*, Vol. X, No. 2, November 15, 1937). This small volume was published in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of James M. Greenwood, who devoted forty years of his life to the establishment of a system of public school education in Kansas City, Missouri. The work traces in considerable detail the early life, education and professional career of this internationally known Missouri educator, and especially emphasizes the development in the city's school system under his administration. It also contains an excellent bibliography which includes an exhaustive list of Greenwood's writings, as well as a list of his annual reports to the Kansas City board of education from 1874 to 1914.

History of the St. Louis, Missouri, Postal Service. By William Rufus Jackson. (St. Louis, James Mulligan, 1938. 75 pp.) The unusual growth of St. Louis called for a corresponding expansion of the city's postal service. The pay roll

which amounted to a meager \$15.00 a quarter in 1804 was \$5,111,840.03 in 1936. Beginning with a small rented office in 1804, the post office plant has developed into a system which includes the main post office, thirty classified stations, and ten branch stations outside the city limits. The central post office building occupies an area of three city blocks and has a total floor space of about fourteen acres.

The History of the St. Louis, Missouri, Postal Service, was written to give the people of St. Louis information concerning the development of the city's postal service. Specific events are carefully dated, the narrative is readable, and the work meets the purpose for which it was written.

Missouri Poets of the Twentieth Century. By Alta Thomas. Typescript. (n. p. October 1, 1937. 279 pp.) As early as 1923 the *New York Sun* called attention to the fact that Missouri was threatening to take from the state of Indiana the sobriquet "home of authors." The present work contains 167 brief biographies, selected poems from the works of 144 authors, and a list of approximately 400 Missouri poets. Emphasis has been placed on living writers. Typescript copies of this compilation have been placed in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, and in the public libraries in St. Louis, St. Joseph and Kansas City.

PERSONALS

HOMER S. BASSFORD: Born at Mexico, Mo., July 20, 1870; died at St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 10, 1938. He was educated in the public schools of Mexico, Missouri, and by a private tutor, when he left school at the age of fourteen to become a printer's devil on the *Mexico Ledger*. He worked on newspapers in Kansas City and St. Louis, and in 1907 became editor-in-chief of the *St. Louis Times*. He served in an executive position on that paper until it was acquired by the *Star* in 1932, when he joined the *Star-Times* staff as special feature writer and movie critic. He was well known as a dramatic critic, political writer, and authority on the history of St.

Louis and Missouri. He was formerly a trustee of the State Historical Society.

DANIEL E. BIRD: Born in Nodaway county, Mo., Mar. 6, 1873; died in Kanass City, Mo., Feb. 10, 1938. He taught school before coming to the University of Missouri to enter the school of law. He later attended the Kansas City School of Law and received his LL.B. degree in 1903 from that school. He began practice in Kansas City, served as a judge from 1913 to 1921, and was re-elected in 1932 to the bench of Division No. 8 of the Jackson county circuit court for a term that expired this year.

JAMES T. BRADSHAW: Born at Xenia, Ill., June 27, 1859; died at Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 18, 1937. He moved with his family to Lebanon, Missouri, in 1861. He was editor or publisher of many Missouri newspapers, and founded the *Missouri Democrat*, a legal publication of statewide circulation. For many years he served as state grain and warehouse commissioner. He was especially active in Democratic political circles.

EWELL M. CARTER: Born near Hallsville, Mo., June 1, 1877; died at Columbia, Mo., December 28, 1937. He received a B. S. degree in education from the University of Missouri in 1905. After graduation he served as superintendent of schools at Doniphan, Missouri; as state inspector of rural schools; and then as director of field and extension work at the Cape Girardeau State Teachers College. He served as full-time secretary of the Missouri State Teachers Association from 1915 until the time of his death, and built up the Association until it now ranks second in the nation in percentage of teachers in the State who are members. Under the leadership of Mr. Carter, the Association has been successful in obtaining outstanding legislation affecting the schools of the State. He was personally known and admired by thousands of school teachers, and virtually inaugurated the annual meetings of the State Teachers Association, which are held alternately at Kansas City and St. Louis.

SAMUEL ALEXANDER CLARK: Born in Sullivan county, Tenn., May 15, 1870; died at Carrollton, Mo., Jan. 22, 1938. He was educated in the public schools of Carroll county and the

Chillicothe normal school. He founded the Bosworth *Sentinel* in 1891, but left the newspaper business for a time to enter other business. In 1904 he resumed the editorship of the *Sentinel*, but sold it some time later to take over the Carrollton *Republican-Record*, which he edited, with the exception of a ten year period, until the time of his death. He was prominent in Republican politics in the State, and his addresses were widely known.

SAMUEL W. DAVIS: Born at Perryville, Ky., Jan. 20, 1855; died at Wichita, Kan., Jan. 29, 1938. He moved to Indiana in his early childhood and was educated there. He began his journalistic work as a boy and spent many years in the Missouri newspaper field at Butler, Richmond, Cape Girardeau, Poplar Bluff and Harrisonville. In 1919 he went to Kansas, publishing the Mulvane (Kan.) *News* until 1923, when he bought the Wichita *North End News* and published it until he retired.

CLEMENT CABELL DICKINSON: Born in Prince Edward county, Va., Dec. 6, 1849; died at Clinton, Mo., Jan. 14, 1938. He was graduated from Hampden Sydney College, Virginia, in 1869. After his graduation he taught school in Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, studying law in his leisure hours until he was admitted to the Missouri bar in 1875. He served three terms as prosecuting attorney of Henry county, became representative from that county in the forty-first general assembly, and in 1902 was elected to the State senate. Mr. Dickinson was first elected to Congress in 1910. He served in Congress more than two decades, and was a member of the House ways and means committee for seventeen years.

MICHAEL B. ELLIS: Born at St. Louis, Mo., 1894; died at Chicago, Ill., Dec. 9, 1937. After attending St. Lawrence O'Toole's parochial school in St. Louis and working in a printing office, he enlisted in the United States army in 1912. During the World war he performed one of the greatest feats of single-handed gallantry in the American forces when he captured or killed 53 Germans and took their 10 machine guns near Exermont, France, in 1918. For his exploits during the war he was decorated with the Congressional Medal of Honor, the French Croix de Guerre, the cross

of a Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor, and the Italian Cross of Military Valor.

WILLIAM T. KEMPER: Born at Gallatin, Mo., Nov. 3, 1866; died at Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 19, 1938. He received his education in the public schools of St. Joseph, Missouri, where he began his business career as a shoe clerk. Later, as a traveling salesman, he was attracted by the town of Valley Falls, Kansas, moved there, established a general store, and then became bank cashier. He remained there until 1893 when he came to Kansas City, Missouri, where he formed the Kemper Mill and Elevator Company and then the Kemper Investment Company and the Kemper Mercantile Company. He was twice elected president of the Board of Trade. In 1906 he organized the Commerce Trust Company and later became its president. He retired in 1916, but a few months after was recalled as chairman of a new organization created by the merger of the Trust Company and the National Bank of Commerce. Mr. Kemper was long prominent in Democratic politics in the State.

GARDINER LATHROP: Born at Waukesha, Wis., Feb. 16, 1850; died at Wauwatosa, Wis., Jan. 21, 1938. He attended the University of Missouri at Columbia. Later he attended Yale university and entered Harvard law school where he graduated in 1873. In the same year he opened his first law office in Kansas City, Missouri. He served as a member of the Kansas City school board for many years and was one of Kansas City's outstanding civic leaders before leaving for Chicago in 1905, where he became general solicitor for the Santa Fe railroad. He gained great legal prominence in this capacity until his retirement in 1926, at which time he became the Santa Fe's special solicitor.

OSCAR ODD MCINTYRE: Born in Plattsburg, Mo., Feb. 18, 1884; died in New York City, Feb. 14, 1938. He was educated at Bartlett's College in Cincinnati, Ohio, and worked as reporter for the Gallipolis (Ohio) *Journal*, the Dayton (Ohio) *Herald*, and the Cincinnati *Post*, before going to New York in 1912. Here he obtained the position as dramatic editor on the New York *Evening Mail*. Not long after, he began the syndicated column, "New York Day by Day," that brought him

fame. The column was printed in 508 newspapers. In addition to the column, he wrote several books, including *Bright Light Nights*, *Twenty-five Selected Stories*, *Another Odd Book*, and *The Big Town*.

DAVID W. MAY: Born in Platte county, Mo., April 22, 1868; died at Benton City, Mo., Dec. 12, 1937. He was educated at the Warrensburg State normal school and at the University of Missouri. He then took charge of an agricultural experiment station at the University of Kentucky and later went to the United States department of agriculture at Washington for several years service, after which he was placed in charge of the agricultural activities on the island of Puerto Rico. He retired from governmental service five years ago. He received an honorary LL.D. degree from the University of Missouri several years ago.

KATE S. MORROW: Born on a farm in Illinois, near St. Louis, in 1863; died at Jefferson City, Mo., Feb. 2, 1938. She was educated at the State normal school at Warrensburg, Missouri. She came to Jefferson City about 1900 and almost immediately came into prominence as official hostess at the executive mansion during the last two years of Governor A. M. Dockery's administration, after the death of his wife in 1903. Mrs. Morrow's husband, William A. Morrow, served as executive secretary under Governor Dockery. In 1924 she was the Democratic candidate for secretary of state, the only woman ever to contend for a state-wide office in a general election. In 1932 she was placed in charge of party headquarters during the campaign of Guy B. Park for governor. She was assistant chief clerk of the eleemosynary board at the time of her death. In 1936, in collaboration with Mrs. Guy B. Park, Mrs. Morrow published *Women of the Mansion, Missouri, 1821-1936*.

LEDREW ESPER RYALS: Born at Omaha, Mo., March 6, 1870; died at Greenfield, Mo., Dec. 27, 1937. He was educated in the schools of Putnam county and the Kirksville State normal school. Upon graduation he served successfully as head of the school system in several towns of the State. In 1905 he entered the newspaper business, gave it up for a time to become a banker, and in 1918 came to Greenfield and pur-

chased the *Dade County Advocate*, which he published until 1934, when he accepted an appointment as postmaster of Greenfield, leaving the newspaper in charge of his daughter.

HERMAN SCHLUNDT: Born at Two Rivers, Wis., 1869; died at Columbia, Mo., Dec. 30, 1937. He received three degrees from the University of Wisconsin, and later studied at Leipzig. He was a member of the faculty of Wisconsin University before coming to the University of Missouri, where he became professor of physical chemistry and head of the chemistry department. Dr. Schlundt was internationally known as an authority on radioactivity, and established the radiological research laboratory at the University. He gave special attention to the elimination of human hazards in the industrial handling of radium and to the detection of radium in living persons. During the World war he worked on the production of mesothorium from nonozite sand with a view of using mesothorium as a substitute for radium for commercial purposes. Dr. Schlundt was a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a member of the American Chemical Society and the Electro-Chemical Society.

JOHN T. STURGIS: Born at Smithfield, Ohio, Oct. 27, 1861; died at Springfield, Mo., Feb. 9, 1938. In 1865 he moved with his family to Neosho, Missouri. He received his education at Clarksburg Academy, Clarksburg, Missouri, and at Drury College, where he graduated in 1886. He was elected prosecuting attorney of Newton county for the term 1891-1892. He came to Springfield in 1913 when he was elected to the bench of the newly created Springfield Court of Appeals. He served for eight years before returning to private law practice. He was appointed commissioner for the State Supreme Court in 1930, and held that position for five years.

WILLIAM T. WARD: Born at Sparta, Tenn., July 7, 1852; died at Sparta, Tenn., Feb. 1, 1938. He moved to Stoddard county, Missouri, in 1886, and bought a farm near Bloomfield. He served the county as its representative in the state legislature during the 36th, 37th, 39th, and 40th general assemblies. During the 40th general assembly he served as Speaker of the House.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

HARDEMAN WRITES BENTON ABOUT AGRICULTURE IN BOON'S LICK COUNTRY

Letter written by John Hardeman from Franklin, Missouri, November 24, 1822, to Senator Thomas Hart Benton. Reprinted from the Washington, D. C., *National Intelligencer* by the Franklin *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 10, 1823.

Sir: Agreeably to your request, I have forwarded to you some of the largest specimens of plants which have been reared in my garden this year, with a few others of two years growth. You will bear in mind, that I have not travelled for these samples out of my own garden, which was laid out on the poorest part of my land, and on which there has not a particle of manure been spread: It is a rich sandy loam; contains, for vines and other small fruits, &c. eleven acres, and has too great a portion of sand in my own estimation, but in the opinion of my neighbors a great deal too much.

Perhaps it may afford some satisfaction to know, I live on the north bank of the Missouri River, about 180 miles above its mouth, in latitude 39, and in a bottom whose greatest extent, from East to West, is about 25 or 28 miles, and whose average breadth is about two miles. I know of no part less then one, or many above three miles in width. At Boon's Lick, the bottom is about its medium breadth. That our country is incomparably rich in its products of corn, wheat, and such articles as are generally raised in the Western countries, I believe has never yet been disputed, and I need not particularise them.

. . . . But, the cotton: I raised about 1,200 lbs. in the seed, per acre, this year. I say, about, for I was away from the State in September and part of October, when a part was picked out, and put up without being weighed; but, from what was gathered before I left home, and since my return, I am satisfied there is no great error.

It is the opinion of some men, that a certain number of days is necessary to perfect a vegetable, in any soil or situation, and that cotton, being a native of a southern country, where the seasons are long, in which this plant grows, it cannot be brought to maturity in ours. Here is another sort of theory, about which I shall not detain you so long as I did with the other, but simply say: I planted my cotton about the 28th of April; a drought was then prevailing here, and it continued until the 30th of May, at which time a rain fell. In a few of the first days of June, my cotton came up; on the 16th August, it began to open; and the field was picked over on the last days of August. Our old friend, Dr. John Sappington, who lives a neighbor to me says his cotton came up from the 8th to the 10th June, the seed having laid in the ground something more than five weeks; and he raised this year, by actual measurement of the ground, and weight of the cotton: To say, 10¼ acres of ground, picked out before the 15th instant, 10,272 lbs. of clean,

dry, white cotton, of fine staple.—His letter to me this day, and now lying before me, informs me of this; and, further, that there is now open in his field from 1,800 to 2,000 lbs. to be gathered.

In order to test this theory a little better than Obadiah did his, by his wife and cow, I planted some Indian corn on the first day of May. On the 9th June, it was in silk; on the 15th July it was ripe. I planted some of the new corn, which was then ripe enough for the purpose, on the 10th July; on the 11th August it was in silk; on the 10th September it was ripe; being the second crop, or two generations in 4 months and 10 days. I planted some other new corn on the first of August; on the 1st September it was in silk; on the 1st October it was ripe.—Thus, in 61 days I have perfected a generation of Mandan corn.

The timber is not generally tall in our country, particularly near the prairies, where it is thinly set; the bodies are low, with large spreading tops, even in our richest lands. In the bottoms it is otherwise; for there it is thickly set; and tall. Gen. T. A. Smith has had several cut into rail lengths, 11 feet long, and 7 cuts to the tree, which would require a body of 84 feet of straight timber. Mr. Hater cut one, a few days ago, in this bottom, from which he got 8 rail lengths of 11 feet each. Allow, then, as is really done, for the stump and half the gap made in cutting the logs off, it must have taken a tree of 95 feet to produce these rail lengths. A hollow sycamore tree, which stands about half a mile from me, I measured and found it required 43 feet to compass it. This is the largest that I ever saw. Lately I measured some trees which I am rearing for shade, and their girths were, Catalpa two years old, $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches round, proportional height—Black locust, 13 round—Balm of Gilead, $13\frac{5}{8}$ round—Catalpa one year's growth $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches round—White Mulberry, 6 inches round—Sweet Cherry, $5\frac{1}{2}$ round—Tulip poplar, 6 round—Sycamore one year old, from a stump in the garden, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches round—Grape vine, one year also, 3 inches round, 20 feet long.—Annual plants—Black mustard, 9 feet high, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches round; this is the evangelical mustard that the fowls of the air roosted upon. White do. 4 feet 5 inches across the leaves—ruffle do. 4 feet 3 inches across the leaves; Palma Chrisme standing erect at the main fork, 4 feet above the ground, and 13 branches being below, most of which were 3 feet in length. Asparagus stalk, 3 inches round, 8 feet 3 inches high, the root being only two years old. Salmon Radish, $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches round, $26\frac{1}{2}$ long; another summer, do. 23 inches round, 16 inches long, and broken off by drawing up, the point 2 inches thick. Hemp stalk, 15 inches round, its branches 9 feet long.—My hemp raised for seed grew in length from 12 to 15 feet. One stalk, raised by my neighbor, measured, in length, 18 feet 7 inches. Turnips now growing, one measured on the 9th inst. 30 inches round. Yesterday I drew up three, which grew about a foot apart, and their measures were 27, 28, $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches round. I raised this year on two vines, they were so blended I could not separate them, 4468 cymlins, or squashes. On one vine I raised 96 citron melons; one, taken as a medium size, weighed 7 lbs. then 96-by 7—672 lbs. I had three days ago dug from one hill, one bushel and a half and one quart of Jerusalem artichokes; these were raised with-

out any cultivation, except the planting of 3 or 4 small bulbs in the hill last spring. This plant I have seen growing spontaneously in the prairie near St. Louis.

On the 6th instant I killed a steer $5\frac{1}{2}$ years old, which was raised and fattened in the bottom without being fed, except 15 days to prevent his falling off before the weather would change—neat beef, 884 pounds, tallow, 181 pounds.—He was inferior to several others of the same age.

I cannot forbear saying something more about my asparagus. I have 12 square rods set with it, not one particle of manure. The roots planted in the native soil, 18 inches apart, and 6 inches deep. Since I sat down to write, one bunch has been counted, and it contains 81 stalks.—This abundance is from one root in two years time.

My vineyard contains from 6 to 800 plants, mostly of European kinds; and they grow luxuriantly, as you will perceive from the specimen above stated; it was the Bordeaux. Our native bunch grape is acknowledged, by all who have tasted them, to surpass any other indigenous grape in the United States. I shall transplant 1 or 200 next spring, to see if cultivation can improve them.

In the fore part of this week in getting timber to build a cabin, I found about a peck of bees-comb, hanging to a limb.—The negroes, after I left them, got it down, and stated, on inquiry, that it contained a quantity of good honey. This fact I mentioned to two other persons severally, and they each told me something similar, which fell under their own observation. One said he was hunting for deer last fall, and found a large quantity of comb depending from a limb—he had 3 others with him, and they shot through the comb, and cut off with their rifle balls as much honey as they all could eat, and left the remainder for the next fortunate hunter. The other man to whom I related my story, believing it not to be a new case, said, that, in the summer, he went with 4 others to a prairie, about a mile off, and in the bottom, to run a race, and while they were getting their switches to ride with, they found as much honey as they could all eat, suspended from a limb not longer than a chainpost. Thus, having mentioned my case to but two others, and they both knew something better, I concluded it was a case so common as not to merit the relation; therefore, I left the story at rest, except my sending it thus to you.

EARLY HISTORY OF POTOSI

By Mrs. Adella B. Moore in the *Potosi Independent-Journal*, February 17, 1938.

The ball teams of Potosi might consider making the image of a bear their "mascot" in the match games, since one bear one day started something which has been going on ever since. Tradition says it was in the year 1763 or earlier that Francis Breton and Peter Boyer were hunting in what is now known as the old Perry field near Potosi when they sighted a bear and gave chase. We are not told that they killed the bear but that they discovered lead in rich deposits. Peter Boyer drops out of the story and little is known

of him to-day. Francis Breton (the English spelled it Burton) was granted four arpents of land by the Spanish Government for his discovery and opened up a mine which took the name of Mine-au-Breton, and proved far richer in lead than Breton ever dreamed, or he might not have left it to settle near Ste. Genevieve, where Schoolcraft visited him in 1819 when he was 109 years of age. . . .

Very little is definitely known of the life of the people around Mine a Breton until about 1790. But the rich lead ore must have attracted the miners from Old Mines and other mines around which soon went down. The Renault mine had been down 70 years in 1804. . . . It would seem that before the rise of Mine a Breton, Old Mines was the leading settlement of the territory which is now Washington County. . . .

Moses Austin had left Austinville, Virginia, on Dec. 8, 1796, on horseback for the lead mines of Upper Louisiana accompanied by J. Bell. On January 20, 1797, he arrived at Ste. Genevieve. The next day accompanied by John Rice Jones of Kaskaskia in a two horse carryall furnished by Commandant Francisco Valle II he started over a good wagon road to Mine a Breton 38 miles away, which he reached on the 23rd. The temperature rose and a thaw set in. They hurried back to Ste. Genevieve before the roads should become impassable. Both men had seen enough to make them determine to make Mine a Breton their future homes. They were back in Ste. Genevieve by Jan. 26 when Moses Austin applied for a grant of land. . . . Returning through Tennessee he arrived at Austinville on March 9, 1797.

Business affairs in Austinville detained him most of the summer. In December, 1797, he sent his nephew Elias Bates with a number of experienced workmen to Mine a Burton to erect furnaces, sink a shaft and build a saw mill. . . . His report says that he removed his family to Mine a Breton in June, 1799, when the whole number of inhabitants settled on Big River and its waters surrounding Mine a Burton did not exceed 64 persons consisting of 8 families. . . .

The experienced workmen who came to work for Moses Austin were allowed to take up land. . . . Some of them were Elias Bates who had a grant on the creek which bears his name, Moses Bates who was granted the "Big Lick" in what is now Bellevue Valley; John Stewart who claimed 640 acres. Others were William Bates, a Mr. McDormet, Matthew Mullins. Jacob Neal as one of them asked for 800 arpents to establish a gunpowder factory on Mine a Burton Creek two leagues below the mine. . . . He died before he erected the powder mill. His brother Samuel Neal . . . asked for 240 arpents, $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues below the mine. Some others who are known to have resided at Mine a Burton before March 9, 1804, the date on which Louisiana was formally transferred to the United States, were John Paul, Louis Milhomme, Louis LaCroix, Charles Bequette and Amable Palnotte and Amable Partnay.

A post office by the name of Mine au Burton was established in the District of Ste. Genevieve, Louisiana Territory, Oct. 1, 1811. It was later changed to Potosi. . . .

..... an Act of the First Territorial General Assembly approved Aug. 21, 1813, erected the County of Washington out of the townships of Mine a Breton—Big River and Bellevue of the county of Ste Genevieve.

The various steps toward organizing the county were finally completed and the first regular court for Washington County sat Jan. 3, 1814. This was the Court of Common Pleas, which met at Mine-a-Breton, the temporary seat of justice for the county.

On Feb. 20, 1814, a majority of [the] commissioners, appointed to locate a court house and jail, met and having given the necessary security and taken the oath required by law, proceeded to business. Having viewed the different sites proposed for the county seat, they made choice of a tract of land containing 50 acres immediately adjoining Mine a Breton. Forty acres of which were given to the county by Moses Austin and ten acres by John Rice Jones.

That the commissioners contemplated [calling] the new town St. George is shown by the following from "Gazette and Illinois Advertiser" of June 4, 1814, "Washington County at Mine-au-Burton will be offered for sale, on the first Monday in July next, being court day, and to continue from day to day, under the direction of the commissioners, the town of "St. George", seat of justice for said county, agreeable to an Act of the legislature of the territory, entitled 'an act for the establishing the County of Washington.'

That the name "St. George" did not last very long is shown by the same source. On July 23, 1814, the paper carried an account of a Fourth of July celebration which had been held at Potosi (Mine a Breton) on July 4, 1814. ..

The County Court came rather quickly on the heels of the Court of Common Pleas for the first Session for Washington County was held at Potosi, March 20, 1815.

It is said that the Post Office of Mine-au-Burton was changed to Potosi sometime in the year 1824 or even earlier. On May 1, 1826, in Court Book B, page 78, we find, "On petition presented by the inhabitants of the town of Potosi and Mine a Breton in the County of Washington, State of Missouri, praying the incorporation of said town into one to be under the name of the 'Inhabitants of the town of Potosi', as also setting forth the boundaries thereof. The court being satisfied that at least $\frac{3}{4}$ of the taxable inhabitants of said town have signed the same, and the petition is reasonable. They do therefore declare the said town incorporated under the name and style of 'The Inhabitants of the Town of Potosi.'

EARLY PROMINENCE OF CARTHAGE AND JOPLIN

Reprinted from the St. Louis *Globe* by the Carthage *Banner*, June 26, 1873. (Report of trip by rail from St. Louis to southwest Missouri.)

..... Carthage, a young, but flourishing, city of about 6,000 inhabitants, is destined to be the metropolis of the southwest. It lies on the south side of Spring river, a clear swift running stream. One-half of its dwellings are on the prairie and the other half embowered in a natural forest. It is

beautiful for situation, and the joy of the whole southwest, and justly so, for does it not contain a high-toned, moral, intellectual and religious community? Is not Jasper, of which it is the county seat, the banner county for Farmers' Clubs and Granges? Can any other county show a better record for corn than Jasper county?—see Missouri Agricultural Report 1871. Is there any county in the state, outside of St. Louis that has a regularly organized immigration society? A little over four years ago Carthage had not a completed church edifice, although two were under contract; now, she has six well constructed buildings, and, what is better, large and attentive congregations. She has a \$30,000 school house, and now needs two other buildings for Primaries. From all these indices it will be evident that the Republicans are largely in the majority. There is a farmer's movement strong and healthy, which may select and elect non-partisan candidates hence they will hardly take up a professional politician—one who is over-anxious for office, and who has run for six offices in twelve months without getting a nomination, and his own party in power at that.

Not only is Carthage surrounded by one of the finest agricultural sections in the state, and largely, for a young city, engaged in manufactures—chief among these are flour, woolen goods, wagons, carriages and general foundry goods—but she is in the midst of a mineral section of unbounded wealth. Cherokee and Barton county coal is offered on her streets direct from the mines. Her hillsides contain fine limestone, and within her city limits are brick yards. But the great mineral product of Jasper is lead, which is found in large deposits. Recent discoveries have caused the city of Joplin to spring up as if by magic. Three years ago, Mr. Cox enjoyed an almost hermit seclusion on his farm on Joplin creek; now his dwelling, since erected, overlooks the city of Joplin, and the smoke of her smelting works of twenty furnaces fills his nostrils, and arsenic—or that from which it can be made—coats his tongue, and the greenbacks taken in royalty from his lead mines line his pockets, and enable him to wash his mouth with "Imperial," whatever that may be, had he such an inclination.

Joplin is the wonder of Missouri today. She came near outstripping Carthage in the race for city airs and city expenses, and we believe she is the only city of 3,000 inhabitants that sports two regular post offices. The most commodious, two story brick school house. And may I be allowed to say here that there is no better sign of a healthier growth of public sentiment and an appreciation of a thorough moral and efficient education than the elaborate, tasteful and well-appointed public school edifices one sees in every town and city on this route, especially in Rolla, Springfield, Lebanon, Marshfield, Peirce City, Carthage, Joplin, and Lamar—"all honor to these cities, and let all the people say amen"

WILLIAM BANKS, PIONEER MERCHANT OF OREGON COUNTY

From the Oregon *Holt County Sentinel*, November 17, 1911.

The old Banks spring . . . was one of the greatest . . . that existed anywhere along the Missouri river bluffs between St. Joseph and Council Bluffs. [It was on the road between Oregon and Iowa Point, on the river.]

In 1832, William Banks [born on the Isle of Man, October 21, 1811] shipped as a deck hand on the steamer "Yellowstone," which left St. Louis early in the spring of that year under command of Captain Bennett, and was the first steamboat to ascend the Missouri river as far as the mountains, and belonged to the American Fur Company. On the up-trip Banks cut wood for the boat on a piece of land which afterwards became Jeffrey's Landing; and was so far as yet known the first white man to have set foot on Holt county soil. His compensation was \$15 per month. He remained with the fur company for some three years. In the summer of 1841, he in partnership with John C. McIntosh, then clerk of the steamer Thames, a regular Missouri river packet, chartered that steamboat, loaded her with materials for house building, together with a \$7,000 stock of merchandise. On the 9th of August, 1841, was landed on the spot referred to, but he found it occupied, a quarter section, by a mulatto named Jeffrey Doroway [see note below] who had "squatted." Banks purchased his "squatter" right, paying him \$600, one-half cash, and one-half in trade—hence came the name "Jeffrey's Landing." The splendid wild groves of immense timber, and undoubted fertility of the soil were the attractions for Banks to locate; here along the old Indian trail that was then being commenced to be used as a road between Oregon and the Missouri river, at a point just about across from where Iowa Point was soon located, was where this unique character began, and near where he died some 16 years ago.

William Banks soon became associated very much with the Indians; followed their "trails," got familiar with the "lay" of the country; saw for himself the "big, gushing spring," took out his naturalization papers, being a Mankaman, and entered, bought and traded for quite a lot of land—among which was the tract on which was located the spring. It is on the SE¼ of 4, 59, 38, and was entered Nov. 16, 1843, by George Stewart. . . .

Banks & McIntosh, on taking possession of the Doroway claim, named the spot "Jeffrey's Landing." They at once erected their store building—hewed logs, 36 x 20 feet, one and a half story high. Here they traded with the Indians a great deal, they having a continual source of income from the government, in the way of "annuities," and after the location of the town of Iowa Point, and the Landing on this side of the river in the summer of 1844, having failed in his mercantile enterprise he started a flat boat ferry, and he ferried many people, teams and stock across the river; many of the people were on their way "to cross the plains" to California, in search of gold, and in this way he established himself again in business, with quite an income. His first state license to keep a ferry was granted by the legislature of 1855-56.

The Indians were thick in those days, on both sides of the river, and many of them used the Banks ferry. During these times of his prosperity he built "the rock house" near the spring, and soon took to himself a wife from among the healthy Indian maidens that he so frequently met. This woman's name was "Wa-Rush-Ka-Me," and was of the Iowa tribe From this marriage was born a son whom they named Joseph, and grew to manhood on the old farm by "the spring." After a few years this Indian

wife died, and later he married another Indian. This woman also bore him a son, and this son was named for the father, William. Later this wife died and he never remarried.

[*Editor's Note:* This Jeffrey Doroway is referred to, in the same connection, as "Jeffrey Dorway" or "Dorine" in the *History of Holt and Atchison Counties* (1882), page 312. In the January, 1938, issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*, p. 279, a short sketch of his life is given, under the name "Jeffrey Deroin."]

SINGLE HANDED REPRISAL FOR PALMYRA MASSACRE

Reprinted from the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, by the Palmyra *Specialist*, December 15, 1937.

.Late one October day when the big sidewheel steamer Chas. Morgan was landing at Cairo, a broad shouldered man stepped into the pilot house and sat down on the high bench in the rear.

David Holmes, pilot on watch, did not speak to him until the boat was safely tied to her wharf, then turning away from the steering wheel he eyed the visitor closely, finally remarking about the cold wind blowing in out of the northwest.

"Wouldn't be surprised to get some very cold weather out of this storm," he began, sitting down by the side of the man from the first cabin.

"This is Cairo, isn't it?" asked the fellow.

"Yes, and a pretty good town. It's grown quite a bit since I first saw it back in the forties."

"It's grown a good deal since I saw it back in sixty-two. My name is Brewster, sir. George Brewster, corporal of Company E, 1st Illinois from 1861 to 1865. During the first months of 1862, I was stationed here. Grant was a captain of some Illinois Company, then promoted from time to time. Here is where he laid the background for capturing the Mississippi river."

The conversation drifted from one Civil war event to another until Mr. Holmes pulled his cob pipe from a pocket of his coat, filled it with tobacco and leaned back to enjoy a smoke.

"Yes, many an incident of the war started in Cairo. I recall one which I believe was the most daring episode of the four years of fighting.

"It was about this time of the year in 1862, I brought the steamer E. McDowell¹ into her Cairo wharf. We were en route from Helena to St. Louis. At that time I had no license on the Mississippi north of Cairo, so our captain took on a new pilot here.

"He was a rather fine looking young man, well dressed and well educated. He came aboard a few minutes before leaving for St. Louis. I asked him if he had any objections if I remained with him on his watch.

"Not at all. Fact is, I want you to stay up here with me," he said.

¹It is probable that the steamer meant is the A. McDowell.—Editor.

"After we had gone considerable distance up the Mississippi, this fellow, who said he was Harlan Wade, wheeled abruptly away from the steering wheel.

"Mr. Holmes, you have a kindly face and I believe I can trust you. I'm on a trip of destruction. I mean this boat must not unload her cargo at St. Louis."

"What do you mean?" I asked.

"It's not necessary to tell you I am a Confederate—

"A spy?" I shot back at him.

"Well, yes, in a way. But promise me you'll say nothing and I promise no harm will come to you. If you refuse," he remarked as a cold smile spread over his face and one hand touched something in his right pocket.

"I was between two fires. I knew if I revealed his identity he'd kill me and sink the boat. I knew if I was discovered shielding a spy on a Federal transport I'd be court-martialed, although I was an employe of owners of the boat and not the United States Army. I decided to keep my mouth shut and told him so.

"Everything went all right and we landed at St. Louis with Wade and myself on watch. No sooner had the steamer been made fast to her wharf when Wade left the pilothouse. He stopped at the clerk's office and received his pay. I watched him sauntering down the steps to the lower deck. I saw him toss a burning ball of something into some freight and I watched him running up the levee at St. Louis, stopping to wave good-bye.

"He set fire to the McDowell. In a few minutes the flames spread to the steamer H. D. Bacon, then to the Estelle³, the W. H. Russell and the T. L. McGill, all magnificent packets on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers.

"Two months afterwards I received a letter at Louisville in which Wade explained his actions. He said when the Federals captured Palmyra, Mo., in October, 1862, they demanded a prisoner the Confederates had spirited away. The Confederates refused to deliver this man up, so the Federals took out ten Confederate prisoners that night and shot them down in cold blood. One of those men was Wade's father. He burned the boats at St. Louis in revenge for what the Federals did to him and his family and Corporal Brewster, I do not blame him."

BEAVER COLONY DISCOVERED NEAR CHILlicothe IN 1866

From the Chillicothe *Spectator*, December 6, 1866.

Quite recently workmen engaged on the river in rafting railroad ties down stream have discovered the commencement of a beaver dam. The place is about three miles west of the town, and at a point in the river where

³Editor's Note. The Estella. A lengthy account of this fire, resulting in an estimated loss of \$200,000, appears in the *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, of October 28, 1862. The paper states that the fire started in the hold of the Bacon, which was filled with hemp and "several shells" which exploded. Considerable cotton and hemp piled on the levee, some of which was owned by the government, were also burned.

there is an acute bend. From appearances there seems to be a large colony of these furry animals. They exhibit great strength and ingenuity, and might almost be said to have reasoning powers. They commence first and fell into the stream to be dammed a large tree. In this instance a tree two feet across the stump was felled into the water. The cutting was all done on the side from the water. They cut with their teeth by gouging out a gash of considerable depth at either end of the chip, and then split it out, and so on until they cut through the largest tree. After felling the tree into the water, they then cut other trees, cut off logs and haul them to the water and place them in the dam. They cut stakes, fasten one end in the mud of the bottom, with the other resting against the log, and weave brush in and through this mass until they finish their dam. They then build a house of two stories—the lower story under water and the upper story out, and through this house they find easy access to the water under the ice, and from the water to their sleeping dens in the bank above the water level. In the enterprise at the river they have cut over considerable ground. Some trees have been cleaned off while others have been felled and partly trimmed, and others again partly cut down. Several stakes have been found of the same length, and all with three prongs at one end. They also found rollers on which the longer logs were conveyed to the water, and in this transportation there seemed to have been a well beaten path, or road. This is an excellent exhibition of animal ingenuity and instinct, not to say reasoning. We presume this colony of beavers will be compelled to migrate, but the work already done by them will be a monument of their potent labor and skill, which will long remain to astonish the curious, and demonstrate to the naturalist that all of intelligence does not reside with man.

BURNING OF THE STEAMER "STONEWALL" AT NEELYS LANDING

From the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian*, October 27, 1936.

One of the worst tragedies of the Mississippi river occurred 67 years ago today when the passenger and freight steamer Stonewall burned near Neelys Landing, with approximately 300 drowned or burned to death.

Reminiscences of the catastrophe were compiled by the Cape Girardeau County Historical Society from data supplied by R. W. Harris, who was 8 years old when the boat burned not far from the home of his father at Neelys Landing.

The Stonewall, headed for New Orleans, was heavily loaded. Because of that and the low stage of the river she was running on slow wheels. The fire started in some hay and other inflammable freight, into which it was believed some deck passenger, smoking, accidentally dropped a spark. Before the blaze was discovered it had gained considerable headway.

Attempts to extinguish the fire being futile, the captain ordered a landing at a point just below the mouth of Indian creek. In heading the boat toward what formerly was known as Devil's Tea Table, a large protruding rock which was blown out when the Frisco Railroad was built in 1904, an unexpected bar was struck. The boat gradually turned around, and the north wind carried the blaze directly through her.

Panic stricken passengers were caught like rats on the blazing boat, between which and the Missouri shore was 150 feet or more of swift, icy cold water.

The leaping flames, lighting the sky for $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles away, soon attracted the neighbors who hurried to the river bank, on land owned then by Edward Cotter, a pioneer in Neelys Landing. While Elam W. Harris, John E. Harris, Sam Morgan, Jim McLaughlin, Matt Hughes, Peter Hughes, Delevan Sheppard and others built a fire of fence rails four others went out in a skiff to rescue passengers.

These oarsmen were Lowrie Hope, Martin O'Brian, Frank West and Derry Hays, the latter a Negro. Their efforts at rescue were hampered because they could not get too near the boat, but they were able to save many. Some of the passengers were seen to walk into the flames. Others jumped into the river, some forcing horses from the lower deck to swim while they clung to the animals' tails. The two pilots, forced from the pilot house, jumped into the river. One was saved, but the other's body was never recovered. The engineer, who stayed at his post almost to the last, finally was rescued by the skiff.

Those who got ashore were given prompt aid, about 40 of them. They were taken to homes, where some of them remained some time, hoping for word of others in their family.

Some were taken to St. Louis on the steamer, Belle of Memphis, which came along after the fire was nearly over.

Shortly after the fire the county took charge. Judge John R. Henderson served as coroner and other county officers assisted in the work of dragging the river for bodies, making records of the unidentified victims and saving their possessions. More than 60 bodies were buried in a long grave on the Cotter farm from which a few later were removed by relatives for burial elsewhere.

When the hull had cooled, what was left of the freight was salvaged and sold. Mr. Harris recalled that his father bought a firkin of butter from Wisconsin. One of the horses, scarred from burns, was long owned by Frank Oliver, who called him Stonewall.

As soon as news of the disaster spread, the countryside began to respond with supplies of food and clothing.

When the boat's safe was opened, only paper money, scorched to a crisp, was found, much to the public's disappointment. The safe had been under day and night guard until it was opened.

Money and valuables taken from the victims were saved and turned over to relatives upon due proof of claim. The last of these claims was paid out in the May term of the Probate Court in 1894. John Bonney was county treasurer and public administrator, and a board of appraisers was appointed, including M. W. Williams, W. B. Colyer and J. M. Reed.

Since the catastrophe the location has been called Stonewall bar. At low water broken queensware, coal, nails, bits of iron and even bones are still reminders of the disaster.

The first of these was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This discovery led to a great influx of people to California, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The second was the discovery of gold in Nevada in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Nevada, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The third was the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1858. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Colorado, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The fourth was the discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Idaho, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The fifth was the discovery of gold in Montana in 1862. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Montana, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The sixth was the discovery of gold in Wyoming in 1863. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Wyoming, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The seventh was the discovery of gold in Utah in 1864. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Utah, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The eighth was the discovery of gold in Arizona in 1865. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Arizona, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The ninth was the discovery of gold in New Mexico in 1866. This discovery led to a great influx of people to New Mexico, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union. The tenth was the discovery of gold in Texas in 1867. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Texas, and the state became one of the most populous in the Union.



